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OF

THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON:

EMBRACING A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF

EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES,

AND OF

THE NIGER EXPEDITION

FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

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1860 CHARLESTON

BY MARY A. COLLIER.

Nothing is more beautiful in the world of morals, than the great man in talents, who is the little child in religion.—J. J. GURNEY.

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PREFACE.

In presenting to the public this abbreviated memoir, the writer has pleasure in the thought that it has for its subject a noble and beautiful illustration of the Christian Life.

The biography of Thomas Fowell Buxton, as prepared by his son, is surpassed in value and interest by few works of its kind. From that source, with occasional reference to other writers concerning the events of the times here treated of, has the present work been derived.

The original memoir, by Mr. Charles Buxton, however, contains so large an amount of particular detail, as by increasing the bulk of its contents, to circumscribe the number of its readers.

To render the work of convenient size, by taking from it those portions which are of local or lesser interest, recasting the whole in a diminished form, without lessening the symmetry of its parts, has been attempted in this present volume.

In thus endeavoring to bring this biography within the reach of the mass of readers, the writer has had throughout, as far as the nature of the subject allowed, a remembrance of the younger part of them.

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THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

CHAPTER I.

1781—1802.

Early days.—Maternal Influence.—Visit to Earlham.

"I NEVER knew that boy to tell a lie, and I will not disbelieve him now." This was the testimony of the instructor of THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, when an under teacher had accused the pupil of misconduct. Upon the entrance of the principal, young Buxton appealed to him, stoutly denying the charge. The boy's character did him good service, nor was the confidence reposed in him misplaced. Concerning the events that, in after life, marked the career of one so early distinguished for truthfulness, we purpose to write.

He was born on the first of April, 1786, at Castle Hedingham, Essex county, in England. His father, Thomas Fowell Buxton, a country gentleman much beloved for his kindly habits and manners, died, when the subject of this memoir, his eldest son, was but six years old. By this event, two sons

and three daughters were left to the sole care of a widowed mother.

Mrs. Buxton proved herself not unworthy of the charge which had fallen upon her. Her character has been thus briefly described by her son.

"My mother," he says, "was a woman of a very vigorous mind, and possessing many of the generous virtues in a high degree. She was large minded about every thing; disinterested almost to excess, careless of difficulty, labor, danger, or expense, in the prosecution of any great object. With these nobler qualities were united some of the imperfections which belong to that species of ardent and resolute character."

Mrs. Buxton was a member of the Society of Friends, while her husband belonged to the established Church of England. It has been said of her, with regard to her children, "She was more anxious to give them a deep regard for the Holy Scriptures, and a lofty moral standard, than to quicken their zeal about the distinctive differences of religious opinion. Her aim appears to have been to give her boys a manly and robust character; and both by precept and example, she strove to render them self-denying, and, at the same time, thoughtful for others."

Long after her eldest son quitted his early home for the duties of active life, he wrote to his mother

from London, "I constantly feel, especially in action and exertion for others, the effects of principles early implanted by you in my mind."

Her system of education was indeed not without its peculiar features. While she allowed her children much freedom, her eldest son assuming almost the position of master of the house, she exacted from them, when she chose to exercise authority, "implicit obedience."

Thomas Fowell is described, as from his earliest years, a remarkably bold and vigorous child. An instance of this is given by one of his uncles, with whom he was afterward connected in business. He was but a little child, and was desired by his uncle, with whom he was walking, to give a message to a pig-driver who was upon the road. The boy started with the message, but the driver meantime had passed along. He was out of sight. He could however be traced by the foot-marks of the drove in the mud; so the little messenger kept up the pursuit, though one shoe was lost, and the way was over a lonely road, till he entered the neighboring town of Coggeshall, still tracking his way through intricate lanes, till at last, having walked three miles, he overtook the man and delivered the message.

As early as the age of four years and a half, the future statesman was sent away to school. The first choice of a place of instruction proved unfortu-

nate, and his health suffered from want of suitable food. He was afterward placed at Greenwich, under the care of Dr. Burney, at whose establishment occurred the incident recorded at the beginning of this chapter.

The strongly marked character which was so early shown, was not without some "touches of willfulness." Young Buxton at this time, if we may rely on his own judgment in after life, was of "a daring, violent, and domineering temper." Beneath all this, his mother discerned his true worth. "He is self-willed now," she would say, "but you will see it turn out well in the end."

"During one Christmas vacation," says the biographer of Buxton, "on her return from a brief absence, his mother was informed that Master Fowell had behaved very ill, and struck his sister's governess. She therefore determined to punish him, by leaving him at school during the Easter holidays. Meanwhile, however, some disorderly conduct took place in the school, and two boys, who had behaved worst in the affair, were likewise to remain there during the vacation. Mrs. Buxton felt the dilemma in which she was placed, and on the first day of the holidays, she went to Greenwich and fairly told Fowell her difficulty, ending by saying that, rather than subject him to the risk of being left alone with these boys, she was prepared to forfeit her word,

and allow him to come home with her other sons. His answer was, 'Mother, never fear that I shall disgrace either you or myself; my brothers are ready, and so is my dinner.'"

With a spirit as resolute as his own, the mother took her two younger sons and proceeded to her home, leaving him to his punishment.

Occasionally, these children passed their holidays with their grandmother, either in London or at Bellfield. The latter was her country house near Weymouth, a favorite resort for her grandchildren, who loved the freedom of the country rather than the formal life which she led in London. A beautiful spot was Bellfield, and doubtless its mistress had told her descendants of a pleasant passage in her life's story, connected with her favorite residence. It was this. Soon after her marriage, she had visited the region with her husband. Immediately she had remarked, as they rode over the then unoccupied site, "What a beautiful spot this would be for a country seat." On returning to the same place the next year, an elegant country house, surrounded with lawns and gardens, had taken the place of the fields and hedges. This was the house which the children loved. "There," says his biographer, "young Buxton spent many of the happiest hours of his boyhood. The house, which at the death of his grandmother became his own, is beau-

tifully situated, commanding fine views of Weymouth Bay and the island of Portland. To this spot he ever continued much attached, and his letters from thence always mention his great enjoyment of its beauties. Weymouth was at this period the favorite residence of George III., and the king and the royal family frequently visited Mrs. Buxton. Her grandchildren always retained a vivid impression of the cordial kindness of their royal guests."

At the age of fifteen, young Buxton left school. No extraordinary advances in learning appear to have been made; his powers had not as yet been aroused. He persuaded his mother at this time to allow him to come home, nor does his time when there appear to have been spent to much purpose. Shooting, horse-riding, and desultory reading, appear to have occupied him, while graver studies were laid aside.

Even this period was not, unpromising as it appeared, running wholly to waste. Through life, he always spoke with respect and affection of Abraham Plaistow, a man possessed of a character highly original, and full of home-bred sagacity. At Cromer, he held the office of game-keeper, and was "well fitted to train his young masters in that kind of fearlessness and hardihood which their mother wished them to possess."

Speaking of him, Mr. Buxton says, "He had more

of natural good sense and what is called mother-wit, than almost any person I have met with since. He was the most undaunted of men: I remember my youthful admiration of his exploits on horseback. His fearlessness was proverbial. But what made him particularly valuable, were his principles of integrity and honor. He never said or did a thing in the absence of my mother, which she would have disapproved. He always held up the highest standard of integrity, and filled our youthful minds with sentiments as pure and as generous as could be found in the writings of Seneca or of Cicero. He was our play-fellow and tutor; he rode with us, fished with us, shot with us, on all occasions."

Young Buxton was at this time distinguished for his size and strength, as well as for courage, and entered with eagerness into these out-door amusements. Meantime the family circle regarded his manners as rough and boyish. The ridicule and reproof of which he sometimes found himself the object, was a dangerous weapon against a spirit like his, and might have proved injurious, when a new influence was thrown around him, arousing him to effort and ambition, and giving color to the whole of his future.

The name of J. J. GURNEY is well known in the Christian world. He was at this time a youth, being the eldest son of Mr. Gurney of Earlham Hall,

near Norwich, and between him and young Buxton a friendship had commenced. The families of each were indeed distantly connected, and in the autumn of 1801, young Gurney received, at his father's house, a visit from his friend.

A noticeable and somewhat unique picture of the family at Earlham is here given.

"Mr. Gurney had been for several years a widower. His family consisted of eleven children; three elder daughters, (on the eldest of whom the charge of the rest chiefly devolved,) the son whom we have mentioned, a group of four girls nearer Fowell Buxton's age, and three younger boys. He was then in his sixteenth year, and was charmed by the lively and kindly spirit which pervaded the whole party, while he was surprised at finding them all, even the younger portion of the family, zealously occupied in self-education, and full of energy in every pursuit, whether of amusement or of knowledge. They received him as one of themselves, early appreciating his masterly though still uncultivated mind; while on his side, their cordial and encouraging welcome seemed to draw out all his latent powers. He at once joined them in reading and study, and from this visit may be dated a remarkable change in the whole tone of his character; he received a stimulus, not merely in the acquisition of knowledge, but in the formation of studious hab-

its and intellectual tastes; nor could the same influence fail of extending itself to the refinement of his disposition and manners.

"Earlham itself possessed singular charms for the young and lively party. They are described at the time of his visit, as spending the fine autumn afternoons in sketching, and reading under the old trees in the park, or in taking excursions, some on foot, some on horseback, into the country around; wandering home toward evening, with their drawings and the wild flowers they had found. The roomy old hall, also, was well fitted for the cheerful though simple hospitalities, which Mr. Gurney delighted to exercise, especially toward the literary society for which Norwich was at that time distinguished."

Here were found, in a high degree of development, those intellectual and social influences, which were to work a lasting effect upon the young guest of Earlham Hall. Its hospitable master was a member of the Society of Friends, but a strict regard to the peculiarities of the sect had been no part of the education of his children. The third daughter afterward became Mrs. Fry, the celebrated prison visitor of London, the religious instructor of thousands of her own sex, who had become the degraded victims of vice and crime. She had at this time

united herself to the Society of Friends, but her career of public usefulness had not commenced.

How this circle was regarded by young Buxton, may be learned from the following, which was written to his mother, in reply to an epistle which he had received from her, with permission to lengthen his stay.

"EARLHAM, Nov. 14th, 1801.

My dear Mother,

Your letter was brought while I was deliberating whether to stay here, or to meet you in London. The contents afforded me real joy. Before, I almost feared that you would think me encroaching; yet Mr. Gurney is so good-tempered, his daughters are so agreeable, and John is so thoroughly delightful, and his conversation is so instructive, which is no small matter with you, I know, that you must not be surprised at my accepting your offer of a few days longer stay in the country. While I was at Northrepps, I did little else than read books of entertainment, (except now and then a few hours of Latin and Greek,) ride, and play at chess. But since I have been at Earlham, I have been very industrious.

Your affectionate son,

T. F. BUXTON."

Writing to her again when about to leave Earlham, he says, with enthusiasm, "My visit has been

completely answered. I have spent two months as happily as possible. I have learned as much (though in a different manner) as I should at Colne, and have got thoroughly acquainted with the most agreeable family in the world."

His powers were now thoroughly aroused, and the impulse here received was never lost. It was a turning-point in life. Many years afterward, when alluding to his early friendship with the Earlham family, he says,

"Its influence was most positive and pregnant with good, at that critical period between school and manhood. They were eager for improvement,—I caught the infection. I was resolved to please them, and in the college at Dublin, at a distance from all my friends, and all control, their influence, and the desire to please them, kept me hard at my books and sweetened the toil they gave."

CHAPTER II.

1802—1807.

Dublin University.—Resolution and success.—Hannah Gurney.—The Parkgate Packet.—Religious interest.—Opportunity to enter public life.—Marriage.

Mrs. Buxton, having reason to suppose that her eldest son would inherit considerable property in Ireland, wished him to enter as a student the University at Dublin. That the influence of his Earlham friends followed him still, is manifest. Entering upon a year's preparatory study, he became aware that he was behind his companions, and therefore set himself so zealously to study, that he soon stood at their head. Of this, he afterward wrote to one of his sons.

"I left school, where I had learned little or nothing, at about the age of fourteen. I spent the next year at home, learning to hunt and shoot. Then it was, that the prospect of going to college opened upon me, and such thoughts as I have expressed in this letter occurred to my mind.* I made my resolutions, and I acted up to them: I gave up all desultory reading; I never looked into a novel

* See letter to his son, Chap. 16.

or a newspaper; I gave up shooting. During the five years that I was in Ireland, I had the liberty of going when I pleased to a capital shooting place. I never went but twice. In short, I considered every hour as precious, and I made every thing bend to my determination not to be behind any of my companions,—and thus I speedily passed from one species of character to another. I had been a boy fond of pleasure and idleness, reading only books of unprofitable entertainment. I speedily became a youth of steady habits of application, and irresistible resolution. I soon gained the ground I had lost, and I found those things which were difficult and almost impossible to my idleness, easy enough to my industry; and much of my happiness, and all my prosperity in life, have resulted from the change I made at your age."

His energies now being thoroughly enlisted in study, Mr. Buxton's very superior powers could not fail to be made manifest by his rapid progress. At college, as at the preparatory school, he soon outstripped his competitors, and one prize after another was won. Being on a visit at one time at Earlham, he writes to his mother, "We are most completely happy here, every thing goes well, and you need not fear that I am losing any time, for being with the Gurneys makes me ten times more industrious than any thing else would."

In the struggle for college premiums, one fellow-student is mentioned as a "tremendous antagonist." This was Mr. John Henry North, between whom and Mr. Buxton a friendship was begun at the university, which proved lasting as life. Mr. North was afterward distinguished both at the Irish Bar and in the British Parliament.

It was while at college, that he first found occasion to exercise his talent for public speaking. An association had been established by the students, having for its object the double purpose of promoting the study of history and the practice of elocution. Both Mr. Buxton and Mr. North became members of this body. The rules of the Historical Society were well adapted to call out the powers of the young men who joined it. Debates were held every week during a portion of the year, and at the close of each debate, a vote was taken, each member signifying the person who, in his opinion, had spoken most effectively. At the end of the year, the person among the under-graduates who had gained the most suffrages, received a silver medal.

Mr. Buxton's power as a speaker could not be hidden. He had felt much dread at addressing so large an audience, but at once rose to the highest honor they could give. Only a month after he joined the society, he wrote to Earlham, "Five

persons spoke, besides myself; ninety-two members gave returns, of which eighty-five were for me."

This success was not gained without previous effort. Some months before joining the Historical Society, he wrote, that he had been engaged in the reading of English poetry; and he adds, "I went yesterday, for the first time, to a school master, who gives lectures on reading. I have long felt my deficiency in that most useful qualification, especially when I was last at Earlham; and I then made a firm resolution to conquer it. However, it was with difficulty that I could keep my determination, for my companions have entertained themselves very much with the idea of my going to school to learn to read. But I expect to gain two very material advantages by this plan; the first is, that perhaps it may afford you pleasure, and secondly, that as I go immediately after dinner, it will furnish an opportunity of avoiding, without openly quarreling with, a party of collegians, into whose society I have lately got, and whose habits of drinking make me determine to retreat from them."

Most of his letters at this time were written to the family at Earlham, with whom he was becoming linked by ties stronger than friendship. Between himself and one of the younger of the daughters, Hannah Gurney, a mutual affection existed, which, on his part, he dated from the day that they first

met. This youthful pair were now looking forward to the prospect of spending their lives together.

But upon all this happiness, a shadow seemed about to be cast. "Other claimants came forward to contest his right to the Irish property; his mother had undertaken an expensive law-suit regarding it, and her hopes of success were already growing dim. At the same time, the family property had been materially diminished, by some unsuccessful speculations in which she had engaged."

As yet, however, his spirits seem little damped by the overcasting of his prospects of wealth. He writes in a letter to a friend, "I might very well spare happiness enough for a moderate person, and still have enough left for myself."

As Mr. Buxton was about to return to Dublin, after a vacation spent in traveling, he had a remarkable escape from shipwreck, the details of which he described in a letter written some years after.

"In the year 1806," he says, "I was traveling with the Earlham party in Scotland. I left them to return to the College of Dublin. In consequence of some conversation about the Parkgate vessels, with my present wife, Hannah Gurney, she extracted from me a promise that I would never go by Parkgate. I was exceedingly impatient to be at Dublin, in order to prepare for my examination: when I reached Chester, the captain of the Parkgate packet

came to me and invited me to go with him. The wind was fair; the vessel was to sail in a few hours; he was sure I should be in Dublin the next morning,—whereas a place in the Highland mail was doubtful, and at best I must lose the next day by traveling through Wales. My promise was a bitter mortification to me, but I could not dispense with it. I drank tea with a very large party. About eight or nine o'clock they all went away, on board the vessel, and of the 119 persons who embarked as passengers, 118 were drowned before midnight."

The newspaper account of this disaster reached his late traveling companions on their way to Norfolk, nor did they know of his safety, till after a day of painful suspense, they received the following from him.

"Have you heard of the dreadful accident which happened to the Parkgate packet? You will see by the newspapers the particulars. I have been talking to-day with the only passenger who was saved. He says there were 119 in the vessel, and mentioned many most melancholy circumstances. Had I gone by Parkgate, which I probably might have done, as we were detained some time at Chelsea, and expected to be detained longer, I should have been in the vessel, but I declared positively I would not go. Can you guess my reason for being so obstinate?"

Up to this time, the letters of Mr. Buxton evince

no direct interest in the subject of religion. "Yet," says his biographer, "the Christian principles which his mother had instilled into his mind, retained their influence over him, while the natural firmness of his character enabled him to disregard the taunts to which his conduct exposed him."

"It was during this tour to Scotland, that his attention was drawn, with increased earnestness, to religion. When at Perth, he purchased a large Bible, with the resolution, which he stedfastly kept, of perusing a portion of it every day; and he mentions in a letter, dated Sept. 10, 1806, that quite a change had been worked in his mind through the reading of the Holy Scriptures. 'Formerly,' he says, 'I read rather as a duty than as a pleasure, but now I read them with great interest, and, I may say, happiness.'"

"I am sure," he writes again, "that some of the happiest hours I spend here, are while I am reading our Bible, which is as great a favorite as a book can be. I never before felt so assured that the only means of being happy, is from seeking the assistance of a superior Being, or so inclined to endeavor to submit myself to the direction of principle."

From the dissipation prevalent at the college, he had been happily preserveed from the beginning. The extract which follows is from a letter written to

Earlham. He had previously given, when there, a promise not to play at billiards.

"I was strongly pressed to play at billiards yesterday, which I of course refused, and was successful to persuade the person to employ his evening in another way. He told me that when in town, he went regularly three times a day to the billiard table, and that playing at fourpence a game cost him ten shillings a day. It is the most alluring, and therefore the most destructive game, that ever was invented. I have heard it remarked, and have indeed remarked it myself, that if any collegian commences billiard playing, he ceases to do any thing else."

A day or two later, he writes,

"I was extremely tired at the Historical Society, on Wednesday night. I was made President, and you can not imagine the labor of keeping a hundred unruly and violent men in order."

Mr. Buxton had now entered on the last year of his college life, and he continued to engage heartily in study, and with uninterrupted success. The concentration of so much energy with so much talent, could not but produce a marked result. It was not surprising that premium after premium was won, and that he received the highest honors of the University.

A distinction however of another kind awaited him. That the powers which afterward enabled

him to wield so strong an influence in the House of Commons, were well appreciated at this early period, is evident. A proposal was made to him, to come forward as a candidate for the representation of the University in Parliament, the electors not doubting of his success. No higher token of confidence could have been given under the circumstances. Of the inheritance of wealth he had been deprived, nor was he possessed of the influence of honorable connections in Ireland; the honor of representing the University was proposed solely on account of his "personal and academical character." Greatly to the disappointment of his Irish friends, he declined this; the course which he had marked out for himself lying in another direction. He returned to England and was married the next month, and spent the first year after leaving college, in a cottage near his grandmother's seat at Bellfield.

CHAPTER III.

1807—1812.

Business.—Occupations in London.—Death of Edward Buxton.

THAT for his future success in life he must depend on his own exertions, Mr. Buxton was fully aware. Formerly, he had entertained the thought of going into the study and practice of the law; but for certain reasons this had been relinquished, and a favorable opportunity presenting, he went into business in London. Upon this new sphere of exertion, he entered with the same ardor which had marked his pursuit of learning. He writes to his mother, (July, 1808,) "I was up this morning at four, and do not expect to finish my day's work before twelve to-night,—my excuse for silence;—I have not neglected your business."

Every day was not like this in its tasks, for we find, along with close application to business, some time gained for the study of English literature, more particularly of political economy. In writing to his friend North, he speaks of himself as having become again "a hard reader, and of sterling books." He continued also to practice the art of public speaking, in a debating club which he had joined.

In after life, he admitted that even at this early period he had entertained the thought of some time entering Parliament. It had indeed been forced upon him by the electors of the Dublin University, and was not without its attractions for him; nor could he be unconscious, after the testimonials which he had received, and the applause he had won, of his powers of public speaking.

Besides these pursuits, added to the claims of an extensive business connection, Mr. Buxton still found time for the calls of sympathy and the relief of the suffering. "From childhood," says his biographer, "had the duty of active benevolence been impressed upon him by his mother, who used to set before him the idea of taking up some great cause by which he might promote the happiness of man." Upon settling in London, he at once sought opportunities of usefulness, and in this pursuit he received great assistance from an acquaintance, which ripened into a friendship, with the Quaker philosopher and philanthropist, William Allen. This good man had long been engaged upon objects of enlightened benevolence, and by him Mr. Buxton was from time to time initiated into some of those questions, to which his after-life was devoted.

For some time his residence was at Spitalfields, and his sympathies were strongly enlisted for the poor weavers of that district. He took part in

every effort for their benefit, whether for the relief of poverty, or the spread of the means of religious improvement. He had two beloved co-workers, his brother-in-law, Mr. Samuel Hoare, and his own brother Charles, at that time a resident in London. "I have been thinking," he wrote at the close of one of his letters, "what I can do for the poor this winter. I feel that I have as yet done far short of what I ought and I wish to do."

The following, written to Earlham, gives a sketch of his manner of life during the absence of Mrs. Buxton.

"Sept. 23, 1810.

"I have passed a very industrious week; up early, breakfast at eight o'clock, dinner near six, and the evenings to myself, which have been well employed over my favorite Blackstone. I read him till near ten last night, and then Jeremy Taylor till near eleven; and then could hardly give him up, he was so entertaining a companion.

"This morning, I went to Grace Church meeting. I was rather late, which made me feel hurried, and prevented my having sufficient time to myself before meeting; however, I made a little use of my friend Jeremy before breakfast, and this and last night's readings gave me occupation for my thoughts. I saw William Allen, who says he has found a place for the school, as suitable as if we were to build

one. This I know will please you, but will alarm you also, lest we should forget the girls."

In the summer of 1811, occurred an event of mournful interest. The youngest brother of Mr. Buxton, a wayward youth, had some years before been sent to sea, as a midshipman. He had been placed on board an East Indiaman, commanded by a relative of the family, but during the first voyage had left his ship, and entered the King's service. For five years the family had not heard from him, when their long and painful suspense concerning his fate was ended, by a letter placed in Mr. Buxton's hands, informing him that his brother was in Gosport, apparently in a dying state, and desirous of seeing some of his family. The letter, unfortunately, was delayed, and the forlorn wanderer, with spirits broken by long illness, fancied that his relations refused to acknowledge him. A second letter was written for him by a shipmate. This was addressed to Mr. Buxton, at London, and in two hours after it was received, he was on the road to Gosport, accompanied by his brother Charles. "Reaching that place in the morning of the next day," says his biographer, "with mingled emotions of hope and fear, they set out for the hospital. Having been directed to a large ward full of the sick and dying, they walked through the room without being able to discover the object of their search;

till at length they were struck with the earnestness with which an emaciated youth, upon one of the sick beds, was gazing upon them. On their approaching his bed-side, although he could scarcely articulate a word, his face was lit up with an expression of delight, which sufficiently showed that he recognized them; but it was not for some minutes that they could trace in his haggard features, the lineaments of their long-lost brother."

After this most sorrowful yet joyful meeting, Mr. Buxton wrote of its circumstances to his mother. More of his own religious character, than has appeared elsewhere as yet, finds illustration in this epistle.

"GOSPORT, Aug. 10th, 1820.

"It is pleasant being with Edward, he seems so happy in the idea of having his friends about him. This morning I thought him strong enough to hear part of a chapter in St. Luke, on prayer, and the 20th Psalm. Charles then went away, and I mentioned to him how applicable some of the passages were to his state; he said, he felt them so, and that he had been very unfortunate in having been on board ship, where religion is so neglected; that he had procured a Bible, and that one of his friends had often read it to him, but not so often as he wished.....

"When I told him, that as his illness had brought

him into such a state of mind, it was impossible to regret it, let the event be what it would, he said that he considered it a mercy now, but that nobody could tell what his sufferings had been. I then entered into a kind of short history of what I considered to be inculcated in the New Testament; that Christ came to call sinners to repentance. He felt consolation from this, but again said that he had been indeed a sinner. I then told him that I hoped he did not ever omit to pray for assistance, and I added that Charles and I had joined in prayer for him last night. He seemed so much affected by this, that I did not think it right to press the conversation further. Does not all this furnish a striking proof how our sorrows may be converted into joys? I can look upon his illness in no other light, than as a merciful dispensation. It is most affectingly delightful, to see his lowliness of mind and his gratitude to all of us. I can not help thinking that his mind is more changed than his body."

The poor wanderer, now restored to his friends, was comforted by the presence of his mother and sisters, being surrounded in his last days by the whole family. In a fortnight after the meeting of the brothers in the ward of the hospital, he was dead. His sister Sarah, in speaking of "the solemn yet peaceful meeting around the death-bed," thus refers to her eldest brother.

"Fowell, the head of our family, is a strong support, and when religious consolation was most needed, seemed most ready to afford it. It was by far the most striking feature in the present remarkable month."

CHAPTER IV.

1812—1816.

Decision of Character.—Wheeler Chapel.—Religious progress.—Illness.—Self-examination.—Increase of faith and hope.—Incidental trials.—Removal to Hampstead.

For several years after Mr. Buxton became a resident in London, his attention to business was strict and persevering. That his extraordinary energy and force of mind were recognized by those with whom he was connected, is evident from the fact that his senior partners allowed him to remodel, to suit his own mind, their entire system of management.

In every department of practical life, he appears to have acted upon a favorite sentiment, which he more than once expressed in his letters:

"The longer I live, the more am I certain that the great difference between men, between the feeble and the powerful, the great and the insignificant, is *energy, invincible determination*,—a purpose once fixed, and then death or victory. That quality will do any thing that can be done in this world; and no talents, no circumstances, no opportunities, will make a two-legged creature a man without it."

Seasons of relaxation must however be enjoyed; the mind, long girded to a high degree of exertion, must sometimes cast off its toils. Mr. Buxton's attachment to the Earlham home was not likely to be lessened by his closer alliance with the beloved circle there, and accordingly we find him, every autumn, spending several weeks in that place, in company with his friend, Mr. Samuel Hoare. It was during one of these visits, that his talent for speaking was first enlisted at a public religious meeting. At the request of Mr. J. J. Gurney, he gave his aid at a meeting of the Norwich Auxiliary Bible Society.

Mr. Gurney afterward alluded to the occasion, describing Mr. Buxton's appearance at the time.

"There are many who can still remember the remarkable effect produced, in one of the earliest meetings of the Norwich Auxiliary Bible Society, more than thirty years ago, by one of his speeches, distinguished for its acuteness and good sense, as well as for the Christian temper in which it was delivered. His commanding person, his benevolent and highly intellectual expression of countenance, his full-toned voice, together with his manly yet playful eloquence, electrified the assembly; and many were those on that day who rejoiced that so noble and just a cause had obtained so strenuous and able an advocate."

It has already been made apparent, that upon the

mind of Mr. Buxton religion had obtained a strong hold. It is further evident, that the divine influence acting upon a soul naturally large and generous, had called out with regard to others, an unusual degree of devotion to their good. Yet the great doctrines of religion, and their direct bearings upon practical duty, had not at this early period of the Christian life, acquired their full and pervasive power.

In the year 1811, he began to attend the ministry of the Rev. Josiah Pratt, in Wheeler Chapel, Spitalfields; and not far from this time, his biographer remarks concerning "that ascendency of religion over his mind, which gave shape and coloring to his whole life."

Mr. Buxton himself says of the ministry here enjoyed, "It was much and of vast moment that I there learned from Mr. Pratt." Thirty years afterward he wrote to this clergyman, "Whatever I have done in my life for Africa, the seeds of it were sown in my heart in Wheeler Chapel."

These salutary impressions appear to have acquired both depth and tenderness under a severe fit of illness, which brought him to the brink of the grave. Concerning his exercises, and the light in which he viewed religious truth, when the eternal world seemed to be brought exceedingly near, he wrote after his recovery.

With respect to those vital truths of Christianity,

which can only be known by their heartfelt reception, he there expresses himself with a fullness which leaves little else to be desired.

The letter presents, indeed, in itself, a page of surpassing interest. Had the writer left no other than this record of the power of the inward life, in his individual case, it would be still a precious memorial. But when interpreted in the light of his subsequent career, its value is tenfold, revealing as it does that the hidden springs of his life of untiring beneficence were filled from the deep fountains of faith in the Redeemer. That world-wide charity which blessed many in its exercise, was, we may here learn, the growth of this heavenly seed, already germinating vigorously, and destined to take root downward and bear fruit upward, unto eternal life.

The letter is as follows.

"Feb. 7, 1813.

"After so severe an illness as that with which I have lately been visited, it may be advantageous to record the most material circumstances attendant upon it. May my bodily weakness, and the suddenness with which it came, remind me of the uncertainty of life, and may the great and immediate mercy, bestowed upon me spiritually, be a continual memorial, that 'the Lord is full of compassion, and long-suffering, and a very present help in trouble.'

"I was seized with a bilious fever, in January.

When the disorder had assumed an appearance, very alarming to those about me, I spent nearly an hour in most fervent prayer. I had been, for some years, perplexed with doubts; I do not know if they did not arise more from the fear of doubting, than from any other cause. The object of my prayer was, that this perplexity might be removed; and the next day, when I set about examining my mind, I found it was removed, and that it was replaced by a degree of certain conviction, totally different from any thing I had before experienced. It would be difficult to express the satisfaction and joy which I derived from this alteration. 'Now know I that my Redeemer liveth,' was the sentiment uppermost in my mind, and in the merits of that Redeemer I felt a confidence that made me look upon the prospect of death with perfect indifference. No one action of my life presented itself with any sort of consolation. I knew that by myself I stood justly condemned, but I felt released from the penalties of sin, by the blood of our sacrifice. In *Him* was all my trust."

When the physician in attendance remarked that from the pressure of disease he must be in low spirits, "Very far from it," he replied, "I feel a joyfulness of heart that would enable me to go through with any pain." "From faith in Christ?" he was asked. "Yes, from faith in Christ," was his answer,

and mentioning the clear view which he now enjoyed of the love of the Redeemer, he said, "It is an inexpressible favor beyond my deserts. What have I done all my life long? Nothing, nothing that did God service, and for me to have such mercy shown! My hope," he added, "is to be received as one of Christ's flock, to enter heaven as a little child."

A day or two afterward he said, "I shall never again pass negligently over that passage in the Prayer Book, which says, 'We bless thee. . . .for thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ;'" and he broke forth into thanksgiving for the mercy, "the unbounded and unmerited love" displayed toward him, in having "the Christian doctrine brought home to his heart."

After a lapse of fifteen years, he again refers to this illness, and to the impressions then made upon his mind. "It was then," he says, "that some clouds in my mind were dispersed; and from that day to this, whatever reason I may have had to distrust my own salvation, I have never been harassed with a doubt respecting our revealed religion."

After his recovery, he engaged in the same beneficent labors as before, but with increased earnestness and zeal, filling up by these labors the intervals which could be spared from business.

Near the close of the same year, he wrote as follows.

"Dec. 25, 1813.

"I have often observed the advantage of having some fixed settling time, in pecuniary affairs. It gives an opportunity of ascertaining the balance of losses and gains, and of seeing where we have succeeded, and where failed, and what errors or neglects have caused the failure.

"Now, I thought, why not balance the mind in the same way,—observe our progress, and trace to their source our mistakes and oversights? And what better time for this than Christmas day, followed by Sunday. And what better employment of those days? So it was fixed; and consequently I refused all invitations.....

"After breakfast, I read *attentively* the first of St. Peter, with some degree of that spirit with which I always wish to study the scriptures. To me, at least, the scriptures are nothing without prayer; and it is sometimes surprising to me, what beauties they unfold, how much even of worldly wisdom they contain, and how they are stamped with the clear impression of truth, when read under any portion of this influence; and without it, how unmoving they appear.

"I also read one of Cooper's practical sermons,

'What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?'

"This is a subject which, of all others of the kind, most frequently engages my own thoughts. Well, I went to church; we had one of Mr. Pratt's best sermons, and I staid the communion. I could not but feel grateful to see so many persons, who at least had some serious thoughts of religion,—especially that Charles and his wife were of the number; and I may add, that I was also.....I feel it an inestimable blessing, to have been conducted to the precincts and the threshold of truth, and to have some desires, vague and ineffectual as they are, after better things.

"In the evening, I sat down, in a business-like manner, to my mental account. In casting up the incidental blessings of the year, I found none to compare with my illness; it gave such a life, such a reality and nearness to my prospects of futurity; it told me, in language so conclusive and intelligible, that here is not my abiding city. It expounded so powerfully the scripture doctrine of atonement, by showing what the award of my fate must be, if it depended upon my own merits, and what that love is, which offers to avert condemnation by the merits of another: in short, my sickness has been a source of happiness to me in every way."

In alluding to the death of a near relative, he

speaks of it as "a loss hardly admitting of consolation," but goes on saying,

"It is surely from the shortness of our vision, that we dwell so frequently on the loss of those who are so dear to us. Are they gone to a better home? Shall we follow them? These are questions of millions and millions of centuries. The former is but a question of a few years. When I converse with these considerations, I can not express what I think of the stupendous folly of myself and the rest of mankind. If the case could be so transposed, that our worldly business and pleasures were to last for ever, and our religion were but to produce effects only for a few years, then, indeed, our, or at least *my* dedication of heart to present concerns, would be reasonable and prudent.....Alas! alas! how is it that the children of this world are wiser than the children of light?"

In 1815, Mr. Buxton removed to Hampstead, that his children, now four in number, might have the benefit of the country air. In the retirement of this place, he had opportunity on Sundays for "reading and pondering the Bible." In reference to the epistles of James and John, he says,

"How much sound wisdom and practical piety in the first, how devout and holy a spirit breathes through the second: the one exposing with a master's hand, the infirmities, the temptations, and the

delusions of man; the other evidencing the love he teaches, seems of too celestial a spirit to mingle much with human affairs, and perpetually reverts to the source of his consolation and hope. With him Christ is all in all, the sum and substance of all his exhortations, the beginning and end of every chapter."

In the same journal he records:

"I now sit down to recall some marked events which have lately happened. Friday, July 7th, was an extraordinary day to me. In the morning, I ascertained that all the hopes we had indulged of large profits in business were false. We were sadly disappointed, for I went to town in the morning, some thousands of pounds richer in my own estimation, than I returned at night."

This was his first trial. Then comes the next.

"About 9 o'clock a dreadful explosion of gunpowder took place in a house adjacent to our buildings; eight lives were lost, and great damage done. For a long time it seemed impossible to keep the fire from our premises. The morning changed me from affluence to competence, and the evening was likely to have converted competence into poverty."

Another follows.

"To finish all, at night my house was robbed. This, if we had heard it, might have seriously alarmed my wife. How easily can I bear the transi-

tions of fortune, and see without murmuring, and even with cheerfulness, my golden hopes blighted; but 'bitter indeed, and intimately keen' would any wound be that affected *her*."

Again he speaks in the same connection of affairs at Weymouth, in which he is interested, as "in a bad state;" and still further, he finds himself obliged to investigate the business affairs of one of his friends, which he speaks of as "involved in much difficulty."

"I find," he says, "that I can suffer my own misfortunes with comparative indifference, but can not sit so easily under the misfortunes of those that are near to me.....

"I hope," he adds, "that my own uneasinesses have not been thrown away upon me. They have brought me to see the poverty and unstedfastness of all human possessions, and to look upon life as a flower that falleth, while the grace and the fashion of it perisheth, as a vapor that continueth for a little time and then vanisheth away. It has made me too, (though still sadly deficient,) more earnest and more frequent in my appeals and my entreaties to God, that he would give me his wisdom to direct me and his strength to support me, and above all, that he would emancipate my heart from the shackles of the flesh, and fix my hopes beyond all that is in

the world, 'the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life.'"

We have recorded in this chapter certain points of vital interest, in that by them we are led to an intimate knowledge of the inner history of the subject of this memoir, in the earlier stages of the Christian Life.—To what has been already brought forward, we may add the testimony of one who enjoyed with Mr. Buxton a life-long intimacy.

"He rested," says the writer, "every hope on Christ as a divine Redeemer, and on the Holy Spirit, as the teacher, comforter and sanctifier of the soul. On this strong foundation he built for eternity. And I believe that he will realize through countless ages, the immeasurable benefit of such a faith, testified, as it was in his case, by a corresponding temper and practice."

The same writer, in speaking of the deep tenderness and sympathy, the spirit of "intense benevolence," which marked his departed friend, says:

"He walked through the world like a man passing through the wards of a hospital, and stooping down on all sides to administer help where it was needed."

CHAPTER V.

1816, 1817.

Adventure with a mad dog.—The Spitalfields weavers.—Prison visits.—Charles Buxton.—Visit to France.—Book on Prison Discipline.

TESTS of courage are by no means peculiar to the battle field. To brave physical danger the soldier is trained, but often when least looked for, amid the quietest scenes of home-born enjoyment, may circumstances arise, so illustrative of this virtue, as not easily to be forgotten.

The following, which may be regarded as of this sort, is mentioned in a letter written by Mr. Buxton to his wife, who at that time was absent from home.

"SPITALFIELDS, July 15, 1816.

"As you must hear the story of our dog Prince, I may as well tell it you. On Thursday morning, when I got on my horse at S. Hoare's, David told me that there was something the matter with Prince, that he had killed the cat, and almost killed the new dog, and bit at him and Elizabeth. I ordered him to be tied up and taken care of, and then rode off to town. When I got into Hampstead, I saw Prince covered with mud, and running furiously,

and biting at every thing. I saw him bite at least a dozen dogs, two boys and a man.

"Of course I was exceedingly alarmed, being persuaded he was mad. I tried every effort to stop him or kill him, or to drive him into some out-house, but in vain. At last he sprang up at a boy, and seized him by the breast; happily I was near him, and knocked him off with my whip. He then set off toward London, and I rode by his side, waiting for some opportunity to stop him. I continually spoke to him, but he paid no regard to coaxing or scolding. You may suppose I was seriously alarmed, dreading the immense mischief he might do, having seen him do so much in the few preceding minutes. I was terrified at the idea of his getting into Camden Town and London, and at length considering that if ever there was an occasion which justified a risk of life, this was it, I determined to catch him myself. Happily he ran up to Pryor's gate, and I threw myself from my horse upon him, and caught him by the neck. He bit at me and struggled, but without effect, and I succeeded in securing him without his biting me. He died yesterday, raving mad.

"Was there ever a more merciful escape? Think of the children being gone! I feel it most seriously, but I can not now write more fully. I have not been at all nervous about it, though rather low, oc-

casioned partly by this, and partly by some other things.

"I do not feel much fit for our Bible meeting on Wednesday,—but I must exert myself."

Some further particulars were afterward mentioned in another letter. The first was a hurried one, written to allay the anxieties which might be supposed likely to arise from exaggerated reports of the adventure.

"When I seized the dog," he writes, "his struggles were so desperate that it seemed at first almost impossible to hold him, till I lifted him up in the air, when he was more easily managed, and I contrived to ring the bell. I was afraid that the foam, which was pouring from his mouth, in his furious efforts to bite me, might get into some scratch and do me injury; so with great difficulty, I held him with one hand, while I put the other into my pocket and forced on my glove; then I did the same with my other hand, and at last the gardener opened the door, saying, 'What do you want?' 'I 've brought you a mad dog,' replied I; and telling him to get a strong chain, I walked into the yard, carrying the dog by the neck. I was determined not to kill him, as I thought if he should prove not to be mad, it would be such a satisfaction to the persons whom he had bitten. I made the gardener (who was in a terrible fright) secure the collar round his neck and

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fix the other end of the chain to a tree, and then walking to its furthest range, with all my force, which was nearly exhausted by his frantic struggles, I flung him away from me, and sprang back. He made a desperate bound after me, but finding himself foiled, he uttered the most fearful yell I ever heard. All that day he did nothing but rush to and fro, champing the foam that gushed from his jaws; we threw him meat, and he snatched at it with fury, but instantly dropped it again.

"The next day I went to see him. I thought the chain seemed worn, so I pinned him to the ground between the prongs of a pitchfork, and then fixed a much larger chain round his neck; when I pulled off the fork, he sprang up and made a dash at me, which snapped the old chain in two. He died in forty-eight hours from the time he went mad."

Again he writes to Mrs. Buxton:

"I shot all the dogs, and drowned all the cats. The man and boys who were bit are doing pretty well. Their wounds were immediately attended to, cut or burned out.

"What a terrible business it was. You must not scold me for the risk I ran; what I did, I did from a conviction that it was my duty, and I never can think that an over cautious care of self, in circumstances where a risk may preserve others, is so

great a virtue as you seem to think it. I do believe that if I had shrunk from the danger, and others had suffered in consequence, I should have felt more pain than I should have done, had I received a bite."

The winter of 1816 was unusually severe, occasioning much suffering among the weavers of Spitalfields. This, in the case of these poor people, was aggravated by an extreme depression of trade, and strong efforts were made for their relief. In these Mr. Buxton may be found taking an active part, giving not only money, but time and personal influence.

He wrote at this time to Mrs. Buxton:

"S. Hoare and I came from Hampstead to attend a committee this morning, and afterward visited the poor. The wretchedness was great indeed, but I felt most compassion for a poor old creature of eighty, living alone, without a fire or blanket. She seemed quite bewildered by the sight of silver, her twilight of intellect lost in gratitude and amazement. Poor old thing! that she with all the infirmities of age, and without one earthly consolation, should look upon the prospect of a good meal as a cause of extravagant joy, and real happiness, and that we, with the command of every comfort, in full strength, and without a bodily want, should ever repine at trifling discomfitures, is, I hope, a lesson. We are

going to have a public meeting, and I hope a profitable one, for without a large sum of money, we must suspend our operations."

The public meeting here mentioned proved a very successful one. Nearly £50,000 were raised for the poor of Spitalfields. Mr. Buxton says of his speech on that occasion, that he "considered it a kind of failure," not having been able to say all that he wished. The report in the newspaper he sends to his little daughter, "that she may read papa's speech, that she may also learn to be desirous of serving the poor."

Concerning the address, the public were far enough from regarding it as a failure. The commendations which were poured upon him, and the congratulatory letters which he received, could not but have taken him by surprise.

Mr. Wilberforce, then in the latter part of his parliamentary life, wrote to him, on this occasion, a few lines which seemed to anticipate the more enlarged efforts of future years.

"My dear sir,

"I must in three words express the real pleasure with which I have both read and heard of your successful effort on Tuesday last, in behalf of the hungry and naked.....

"But I can not claim the merit of being influenced only by regard for the Spitalfields sufferers,

in the pleasure which I have received from this meeting. It is partly a selfish feeling, for I anticipate the success of efforts, which I trust that you will one day make in other instances, in an assembly where I trust we shall be fellow-laborers, both in the motives by which we shall be actuated, and in the objects to which our exertions will be directed.

"I am, my dear sir,

"Yours sincerely.

"W. WILBERFORCE."

It is pretty well evident from this, that Mr. Buxton's adaptedness for public life was fully discerned, and the desire already formed in certain quarters, that his powers should be enlisted in its services. The direction given to those powers by the writer of the above epistle, may be seen hereafter. The earnest and honest desire for the good of others, to give relief to human suffering, was always active; and with Mr. Buxton there was no long process between the inward desire and the outward deed. This was manifest soon after, in another department of effort.

The labors of Elizabeth Fry, the sister-in-law of Mr. Buxton, had already excited the sympathies of many Christian hearts. Her prison visits were well known to him; he had some time before this given attention to the subject, and at this time, in company with his inseparable friend, Mr. S. Hoare, he engaged in a series of similar efforts. Public atten-

tion having been drawn to this subject, in 1816 a society was formed for the reformation of prison discipline.

In January, 1817, he writes thus to Mrs. Buxton:

"After I had written to you yesterday, I went with Charles and Peter Bedford, on a visit to Newgate. I saw four poor creatures who are to be executed on Tuesday next. May God have mercy on them! The sight of them was sufficient for that day. I felt no farther inclination to examine the prison. It has made me long much that my life may not pass quite uselessly, but that, in some shape or other, I may assist in checking crime and diminishing its consequent misery. Surely it is in the power of all to do something in the service of our Master; and surely I among the rest, if I were now to begin, and endeavor, to the best of my capacity, to serve Him, might be the means of good to some of my fellow-creatures. This capacity is, I feel, no mean talent, and attended with no inconsiderable responsibility. I must pray that I may at length stir myself up, and be enabled to feel somewhat of the real spirit of a missionary, and that I may devote myself, my influence, my time, and, above all, my affections, to the honor of God, and the happiness of man. My mission is evidently not abroad, but it is not less a mission on that account.

"I feel that I may journey through life by two

very different paths, and that the time has now come, for choosing which I will pursue. I may go on, as I have been going on, not absolutely forgetful of futurity, nor absolutely devoted to it. I may get riches and repute, and gratify my ambition, and get some good and more evil; and, at length, I shall find all my time on earth expended, and in retracing my life, I shall see little but occasions lost, and capabilities misapplied. The other is a path of more labor and less indulgence.

"I may become a real soldier of Jesus Christ; I may feel that I have no business on earth but to walk in his ways, and I may direct every energy I have to the service of others."

It was in the exercise of just such sentiments as these, that Mr. Buxton began to look forward to a seat in the House of Commons. Success in business relieved him in some degree from the pressure of its details; public life opened before him an extended means of doing good. But while upon the threshold of this, he was smitten with unexpected sorrow. He now became absorbed in anxiety concerning his only remaining brother, Mr. Charles Buxton, sinking in a rapid decline which, in the course of the next summer, proved fatal.

"A more grievous calamity," says the biographer of Mr. Buxton, "could hardly have befallen him. Though their characters stood far apart, the two

brothers had some points of strong and endearing resemblance. The lively gladness of heart which threw a constant sunshine over the conversation of the younger, would often relax the graver brow of the elder brother; and, indeed, though the pressure of care and business gave Mr. Buxton an habitually grave aspect, and though it was a part of his character to be so absorbed by the pursuit in hand as to appear absent, yet there was in him throughout life, a vein of playfulness which showed itself often when least expected. Even when he was himself somewhat silent and oppressed, he courted the cheerfulness of others, and delighted in it. But the friend who could best enliven him was lost, when his brother sunk into the grave."

Concerning this calamity, Mr. Buxton wrote, July, 1817:

"If we only consider the loss we have sustained, we must go mourning all the day long; if we consider the gain to him, it extracts the anguish from the wound. I can not help following him in his present state. He, with whose views and prospects, and feelings and joys, I have till within a few days been so conversant, is now in a scene so new, so grand, so inexpressible, so infinitely beyond the rags and vanities of earth." Again he says, in speaking of the departed one, "I have dwelt so much upon him as ascended to heaven, that I can not, or rather

do not, so very closely connect the idea of him and his remains. I mean, in committing *them* to the earth, I do not feel as if I were committing *him* there."

This was a lasting grief. Twenty years afterward, Mr. Buxton wrote of this brother:

"I know of no tie (that of husband and wife excepted) which could be stronger than that which united Charles and me. We were what the lawyers call 'tenants in common' of every thing. He was, I think, the most agreeable person I ever knew. A kind of original humor played about his conversation.....He died at Weymouth, in the year 1817, and thou knowest, O Lord! and thou alone, how deeply I loved and how intensely I lamented him."

For his brother's widow and children he exercised a tender care, taking for them a house near his own at Hampstead.

It was during the following winter that Mr. Buxton, in company with Rev. Francis Cunningham, went over to France. The aim of this journey was the establishment of a branch of the Bible Society at Paris. Mr. Buxton was also desirous to gain information as to the systems of prison discipline adopted in the jails of Antwerp and Ghent.

The journey was not without its adventures. One had near turned out seriously. In making the short voyage from Dover to Calais, the vessel became sur-

rounded with a fog so thick that the course being lost, they drifted for two days and nights without knowing whither. Unprovided for this delay, they came near perishing for lack of food.

"One can not," he says in his diary, "pass over from Dover to Calais, without being struck with the immense expenditure which has been lavished upon the animosities of the two countries. We hear with astonishment of some hundred thousand pounds raised in England for the dispersion of the Bible throughout the world; of £20,000 raised to send missionaries to communicate to heathen nations the blessings of Christianity. Such exertions excite our admiration, elevate our country in our eyes, and even exalt our nature. But turn for a moment to the opposite picture, and observe ten times these sums expended upon twenty acres of land at Dover, and as many at Calais, not to promote civilization or happiness, but for purposes of mutual hostility, defiance, aggression and bloodshed."

"Nov. 10.

"Thus far I have thoroughly enjoyed the journey; the people are civil and engaging, and full of life. What an odd thing it is, that our mutual rulers should have deemed it expedient that we should have spent the last twenty-three years in cutting each others' throats, and that we should so often have illuminated at the grateful intelligence that ten

thousand of these our lively friends were killed, and twenty thousand wounded. Surely we must now think this a strange reason for rejoicing. Seeing the natives is an antidote for the pleasure of destroying them. If it be our duty to love our enemies, the military preparations are an extraordinary mode of displaying our affection. In truth, it is a sad thing that

> "*Straits* interposed
> Make enemies of nations, which had else,
> Like kindred drops been mingled into one."

Mr. Buxton expresses much pleasure at the formation of a Bible Society at Paris, and having visited Antwerp and Ghent, was particularly impressed with the excellence of the prison management. On returning to England, he communicated the information he had obtained to the Prison Discipline Society. So valuable were his observations esteemed, that the Society's Committee requested that they might be published. He sat down to prepare his papers for the press. The whole subject was before him; his materials grew into a volume. "Buxton on Prison Discipline" became speedily a popular book. Six editions were published in the course of a year, and a considerable impulse was given to public feeling in connection with prisons. In the House of Commons, Sir James Mackintosh made allusion to the book on one occasion, as "full of profound

information, of great ability, of chaste and commanding eloquence."

Mr. Wilberforce wrote, congratulating the author, adding,

"I hope you will soon come into Parliament, and be able to contend in person, as well as with your pen, for the rights and happiness of the oppressed and the friendless. I claim you as an ally in this blessed cause."

CHAPTER VI.

1818—1822

House of Commons.—Letter of Mr. J. J. Gurney.—Criminal Law.—Eloquence of Mr. Buxton.—Prison Discipline.—Letters.—Death of children.—Priscilla Gurney.—"African Institution."

In the summer of 1818, the wishes of Mr. Buxton's friends were accomplished, by his becoming a member of the House of Commons.

Twelve years before this, in a letter to Earlham, he wrote: "As to my being member for Weymouth, it is a totally chimerical idea, for were I ever so willing, it is quite impracticable; so you may lay aside all fears of my becoming a *great man*."

As "member for Weywouth," he was now occupying the precise position which he had regarded as unattainable.

On this occasion, Mr. J. J. Gurney wrote a congratulatory letter, of which the following is a part.

"Norwich, 7th month, 1818.

"My dear Brother,

"My congratulations come late, which has arisen from want of time, not of interest. I have seldom felt more interested in any thing, than

in thy parliamentary views. Many years have passed over our heads since I first expressed my opinion to thee, that Parliament would be thy most useful and desirable field of action. My wishes are now accomplished; and, till the Parliament meets, I shall indulge myself freely in pleasing anticipations of thy usefulness and thy success. Not to flatter thee, thou hast some qualities which fit thee admirably well for this station.....Nor have I any fears of the effect of a public career upon thine own soul. It is undoubtedly true, that so extended a field of action will require at thy hands increased watchfulness and *great fidelity;* but I am sure thy judgment is too sound, and thy heart too much alive to the dictates of plain truth, ever to allow thee to be puffed up for those things in which thou hast a stewardship indeed, but *no fee.*

'Not more than others thou deserv'st,
But God has given thee more.'

Let the five talents become ten, and the ten twenty, and let them be rendered up at last from hands pure and undefiled, to Him from whom they came!

"Nothing is more beautiful in the world of morals, than the great man in talents, who is a little child in religion.....With regard to a political course, I believe that one great object, taken up upon safe, sound, and religious grounds, and pursued with unabating and unabatable vigor, is a much

better thing for a man of talents, who is willing to be of some service in the world, than many objects pursued without accuracy, without perseverance, and without effect. Thou wilt of course be considered by every body as the representative of the prison cause. To that cause thou art pledged. But in itself it will not afford thee sufficient scope. I fully believe that thy chief aim can not be directed to any object so worthy of all thy efforts, as *the amelioration of our criminal code.*"

The following is from a paper written by Mr. Buxton on the new year's day which followed the election. It shows in what manner the duties of public life were contemplated.

"Now that I am a member of Parliament, I feel earnest for the honest, diligent, and conscientious discharge of the duties I have undertaken. My prayer is for the guidance of God's Holy Spirit, that, free from views of gain or popularity,—that careless of all things but fidelity to my trust, I may be enabled to do some good to my country, and something for mankind, especially in their most important concerns. I feel the responsibility of the situation, and its many temptations. On the other hand, I see the vast good which one individual may do. May God preserve me from the snares which may surround me; keep me from the power of personal motives, from interest or passion, or prejudice or

ambition, and so enlarge my heart to feel the sorrows of the wretched, the miserable condition of the guilty and ignorant, that I may 'never turn my face from any poor man;' and so enlighten my understanding, that I may be a capable and resolute champion for those who want and deserve a friend."

Mr. Buxton took his seat the following spring. Soon after, he wrote thus to Mr. Gurney:

"I must give you a line, to tell you how things have gone on in the House. We have had a wonderful debate; really it has raised my idea of the capacity and ingenuity of the human mind. All the leaders spoke, and almost all outdid themselves. But Burdett stands first; his speech was absolutely the finest, and the clearest, and the fairest display of masterly understanding, that ever I heard. Canning was second; if there be any difference between eloquence and sense, this was the difference between him and Burdett. He was exquisitely elegant, and kept the tide of reason and argument, irony, joke, invective, and declamation, flowing, without abatement, for nearly three hours. Plunkett was third; he took hold of poor Mackintosh's argument, and griped it to death; ingenious, subtle, yet clear and bold, and putting with the most logical distinctness to the House, the errors of his antagonist. Next came Brougham,—and what do you think of a de-

bate, in which the fourth man could keep alive the attention of the House from three to five in the morning, after a twelve hours debate? . . .

"I went to the levee. . . . The rooms were tolerably splendid; but, upon the whole, I never was less attracted by any thing like courtiership, and would not be obliged to attend regularly for all the ribbons of all the colors of the rainbow. At dinner afterward, I had a great deal of conversation with the two giants, Denman, the attorney, and Copley, the solicitor-general, and then I went home with Wilberforce, and spent a most pleasant evening. His family prayers were nothing short of delightful. I hope I shall see him a good deal while I am in town."

In his public capacity, Mr. Buxton found increased opportunities for pursuing those objects of reform in which he had previously been engaged.

In March, a motion was carried for a committee to inquire into the state of Prison Discipline; and on the next evening, a motion for a committee on the Criminal Laws was made by Sir James Mackintosh, and seconded by Mr. Buxton, whose speech on this occasion met with marked success. His adaptedness for a parliamentary speaker was by this effort settled beyond a doubt. He had found in this a sphere of efficient and appropriate effect. His power from this time was not questioned.

"His speeches," says the biographer of Buxton, "were not sparkling or splendid; their end was utility; their ornaments, clearness, force, and earnest feeling."

"He is," said Mr. Wilberforce on one occasion, "a man who can hew a statue out of a rock, but not cut faces out of cherry stones."

"I recollect very few," wrote a member of the House to Mr. Gurney, "who have made their *debut* with so much real advantage, and seem so likely to maintain the station thus early assumed."

In accordance with these motions, two select committees were appointed, the one to inquire into the penal code, the other to examine into the condition of jails throughout the kingdom. On both of these Mr. Buxton was included.

Of the former, he says:

"I conjecture no man on the committee goes so far as I go,—namely, to the abolition of the punishment of death, except for murder; but all go a great way, and if we merely make forgery, sheep and horse stealing, not capital, it is an annual saving of thirty lives, which is something, and satisfies me in devoting my time to the subject."

By the other committee a bill was prepared, which passed both Houses of Parliament. By means of this, a reform was instituted throughout the jails of England. Mr. Buxton, both with his

pen and his influence in the House, had, more than any other person, contributed to this result. "I do believe," he wrote with much joy, "that this part of the business of my life will be done effectually."

From his college friend J. H. North, Esq., Mr. Buxton at this time received a letter, in which reference is made to the prison labors.

"I need not tell you," writes Mr. North, "with what exceeding pleasure I read your admirable book, or how delighted I was with the praises that were every where bestowed upon it. I had some satisfaction, too, in observing a few little traits, by which the author discovered himself to me immediately. The zeal that your exertions have excited in this country on the subject of prisons, is really surprising. We have now a society in Dublin, for the improvement of Prison Discipline, of which I am an unworthy member. Here is a committee of ladies, who visit Bridewell in turn every day, and who have, in a very short time, effected considerable improvement; and their example has been followed in some of our country towns. At the last Galway assizes, Judge Johnson, in his charge to the Grand Jury, recommended this plan, and alluded to your book and Mrs. Fry's exertions, in terms of the highest approbation. It will gratify you to find that the seed which you have scattered has fallen upon good ground."

A report had reached Mr. Buxton, that his friend was likely to enter Parliament. After expressing himself warmly on this to him welcome prospect, he continues:

"Perhaps you will like to hear the impression the House makes upon me. I do not wonder that so many distinguished men have failed in it. The speaking required is of a very peculiar kind: the House loves *good sense and joking*, and nothing else; and the object of its utter aversion is that species of eloquence which may be called Philippian. These are not the men from whom a simile or a fine sentiment would be tolerated. All attempts of the kind are punished with general laughter. An easy flow of sterling, forcible, plain sense, is indispensable; and this, combined with great powers of sarcasm, gives Brougham his station. Canning is an exception to this rule. His reasoning is seldom above mediocrity, but then it is recommended by language so wonderfully happy, by a manner so exquisitely elegant, and by wit so clear, so pungent, so unpremeditated, that he contrives to beguile the House of its austerity. Wilberforce has more native eloquence than any of them, but he takes no pains.

"And now let me tell you a secret; these great creatures turn out, when viewed closely, to be but men, and men with whom *you* need not fear compe-

tition. I again, therefore, say 'Come among us,' and I shall be greatly deceived if you do not hold a foremost place."

Mr. North became a member of Parliament soon after this. Though differing from Mr. Buxton politically, their friendship continued uninterrupted till his death in 1831, to which the former refers with much feeling.

Hitherto Mr. Buxton's career had been one of success and prosperity. He was in the enjoyment of wealth and reputation. His talents had won for him an honorable position, and the influence which came from this, he dedicated to the service of God and man. His parliamentary labors, whether they regarded the jails, those condemned to death, the victims of Hindoo superstition, or the poor children of Spitalfields, were such as his heart dictated, and he rejoiced in his work. In his family too, he had nothing left to wish for; he was in the fullness of life's early prime; "his home was a scene of unclouded happiness."

His friend Rev. Charles Simeon thus writes to him from Cambridge:

"Jan. 4th, 1820.

"Certainly if I should live to visit your house again, I shall do it with no little joy, for I do not expect to see in this world a brighter image of heaven, than I was there privileged to behold. A

sweet savor of love remained upon my spirit for a long time after, and I am not sure that it has quite evaporated yet."

But this happiness was about to be interrupted by a visitation of sorrow, repeated once and again. Death came into the family, bearing away the young life in the freshness of its budding, hushing in silence the voices that had made the house joyful.

The first victim was the eldest son, a boy of ten years. Mr. Buxton was hastily summoned home, on account of his illness, and in a few days he was dead.

The sorrowing father writes thus in his journal:

"Thus have we lost our eldest son, the peculiar object of our anxious care; a boy of great life and animation, of a most beautiful countenance, of a most sweet disposition; and blessed be God, we feel that in the whole event His mercy has been extended to us. We can rejoice and mourn together,—mourn at our loss, and rejoice that without exposure to the trials and temptations of the world, it has pleased God to take him to himself. We feel the most certain assurance that he is with God, and we feel persuaded that, if we could be permitted to see him as he now is, we should never bewail him another instant. 'He pleased God, and was beloved of Him, therefore being among sinners, he was translated, yea, he was speedily taken

away, lest that wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul.' 'He has gone unto Mount Zion.'....

"For myself, my heart's desire and prayer to God has been, that this event may wean me from the world and fix my heart on God."

This calamity was soon followed by others. In that house of mourning lay, suffering under severe illness, three little daughters.

Mr. Buxton writes,

"April 9.

"This week has passed away in great anxiety for the remainder of my flock."

Again he writes, a few days after this,

"I have just been out walking, viewing this splendid, starry night; what immeasurable mightiness does the firmament display! And when we consider that for all these innumerable worlds there is one Arbiter, one Sovereign Director, can we say aught else than, 'Thy will be done?' Can not he who rules the universe decide what is best for the children he has lent me? May I yield to that will!"

The three little children had been suffering from the whooping-cough, and were seized with the measles. In a few weeks after the first grief, they too were all dead!

Mr. Buxton wrote at this time concerning the death of the eldest, a child four years old:

"'Though He slay me, yet will I put my trust in him.' I had much desired her life, but willingly do I resign her into the hands of the Lord, praying him that he would mercifully make her death the means of turning me more nearly to the Lord.

"Thus, in little more than a month," he adds, "we have lost the darlings and delights of our life; but they are in peace; and, for ourselves, we know that this affliction may redound to our eternal benefit, if we improve it aright..... How are our most choice and comely blossoms cut off; how naked do we appear, how stripped of our treasures. O my God! be thou our consolation, and comfort us, not with the joys of this world, but with faith, love, obedience, patience, and resignation."

Of public matters during this summer, little is said. The greater part of it was spent at Tunbridge Wells, in the hope of recruiting the health of Mrs. Buxton. There is something deeply touching in the expression which he uses, "We came here with *the fragments of our family*."

The following autumn, the house at Hampstead was given up, and the family removed to the neighborhood of Cromer. On first settling at this place, Mr. and Mrs. Buxton received under their roof the youngest sister of the latter, Priscilla Gurney. This

lady, who in piety and strong originality of character greatly resembled her sister, the celebrated Mrs. Fry, was at this time in an advanced stage of consumption. Of her very superior character Mr. Buxton had a high appreciation, nor was the intercourse of these closing months of her life without its influence upon his future career.

He thus speaks of her:

"I never knew an individual who was less one of the multitude than Priscilla Gurney. In her person, her manners, her views, she was the very reverse of common-place. There was an air of peace about her, which was irresistible in reducing all with whom she conversed under her gentle influence. This was the effect on strangers, and in no degree was it abated by the closest intimacy."

From London, he thus writes to Mrs. Buxton:

"I arrived here safely, but with an adventure on the road. Just this side of Andover, about five o'clock in the morning, my sweet slumbers were broken by the coach suddenly coming over with a terrible crash. I directly perceived that I was unhurt, and my first emotion was that of thankfulness. As I was not injured, so I did not feel in the slightest degree hurried or disturbed, though somewhat anxious lest my books and apples should be lost through the prostrate window; so I first collected these, then I put on my spectacles, then exchanged my

cap for my hat, and then ascended through the broken window and got upon the body of the coach, where I immediately delivered a lecture to the coachman on the impropriety of swearing at any time, but especially at the moment of deliverance from danger."

"I find my constituents in very good humor, but my coming was indispensable."

"PALACE YARD, Sunday, Jan. 25.

"I slept last night at Hampstead, and came this morning to Wheeler Street, where the service was very unusually affecting and interesting to me. My mind has been dwelling, or, rather it has been fixed, on the love and mercy of God."

In allusion to the illness of his sister-in-law, he says, in a letter to his wife,—

"What a pleasure and blessing has her visit to us the last autumn been! 'Giving thanks always in every remembrance of her,' is exactly my feeling. She must not fancy that I pity her; I can most truly say at this moment, I would most joyfully exchange situations with her."

"I feel her to be given to the Lord; I am sure that he is about her bed, and that he loves her, and that whatsoever shall happen to her, will be sent in peculiar tenderness, and in these certain truths, I commit her to him, without fear or repin-

ing. She is inexpressibly dear to my inmost soul, but I look upon her as a saint already in the hands of the Lord."

It was now winter, and Mr. Buxton was again in London, engaged in public duties. In addition to other labors, he had for some time past been a member of an association which had been established by Mr. Wilberforce and a few of those who had labored with him, for the suppression of the slave trade. This was called the African Institution. Its object was not only to watch over the interests of the African in general, but especially to secure the operation of the law of 1807, which regarded the slave trade as piracy.

In addition to the triumph which had been won by the enactment of the law, which prohibited the trade in British vessels, the acquiescence of other European powers had been secured, and so great an advance having been made, it was supposed by many that the desired end was already attained. The struggle had been arduous, the battle hardly contested, and the advocates for African freedom had to a certain extent believed their work accomplished.

It was confidently supposed by many, that by the abolition of the trade, slavery had become so far crippled that it would gradually cease, at least in the British dominions, without further effort. In

this pleasant belief, a portion of the friends of the slave had become comparatively inactive. Of this last fact Mr. Buxton had become aware, and had spoken of it in no ambiguous terms. Alluding to a meeting of the Institution which he had attended, he thus writes to Mrs. Buxton:

"I told them that it was certain that we once had the confidence of the country; and it was now certain that the public knew little and cared little on the subject. I have often spoken plainly, and been condemned by others; a few times I have done so, and blamed myself; but in this instance, I really felt, and still feel, exceedingly grateful that I did not shrink from duty. My remonstrance was well received, and a meeting was appointed for Saturday next, at Lord Landsdowne's, of all the members of both Houses interested in the subject, and perhaps it may be the means of great good."

A few days after, he wrote again in reference to the same topic,—

"I was quite astonished at Wilberforce yesterday. I had not seen him since my vehement reprobation of the African Institution. Yesterday he was warm to excess; over and over again he thanked me for the boldness and openness of my remarks, and said that they had penetrated deeply into his heart."

The illness of Priscilla Gurney was now rapidly

increasing. She was evidently near death. Mr. Buxton had been informed that she had for him a dying message, and to this, in writing to Mrs. Buxton, he referred.

"The recollection that she desired you to tell me that she had something to say to me, weighs upon me in the strongest manner. I would not on any account lose whatever this may be, whether of love, advice, or reproof."

Soon after this, Mr. Buxton left London. He arrived at his home in time to receive, in words broken by the approach of death, the message he had desired. Those sacred moments were not soon forgotten. With vision purified by nearness to the heavenly world, Priscilla Gurney remembered, foremost among the wronged and suffering, *the slaves*. She would fain entreat the rising orator of the British Parliament to make their case his own.

These half-uttered words could not be misunderstood. Repeatedly, during her illness, had she spoken of the wrongs inflicted upon the Negro race, and, as Mr. Buxton remarks, "She had urged me to make their cause and condition the first object of my life."

Almost immediately after the death of his sister-in-law, Mr. Buxton was again in London. He writes home that he is "working hard, very hard."

About this time it was, that he endeavored to turn the attention of the government to the sacrifice of life among the Hindoo widows. The cruel superstitions of the eastern countries under the British rule was with him no new topic. Recently, however, by the statements of a returned Baptist missionary, his conceptions of that evil had been much enlarged. Already had the barbarous practice of the suttee been abolished in the provinces under the control of the French and the Dutch, while in British India it was practiced without rebuke. Of this subject he never lost sight, until some few years after, under the administration of Lord William Bentinck, the terrible custom was forbidden by law.

But that object which more than all others called out the powers of Mr. Buxton at this time, was the reformation of the Penal Code. It will be remembered that in the House of Commons, he had been appointed on the committee to inquire into the working of the criminal laws. As the result of the labors of that committee, a bill was brought forward for the abrogation of the punishment of death in cases of forgery. Mr. Buxton's speech on this occasion was an elaborate argument against the severity of the laws of England, proving them to be at once inhuman and ineffective. Great interest was excited by this able and eloquent address, and,

though the motion was lost at that time, the public interest in the subject could not die out.

A few years after, under the administration of Mr. Peel, the whole matter of criminal law was revised, and the number of crimes subject to the death penalty greatly reduced.

CHAPTER VII.

1822, 1823.

The Slave Trade.—Letter of Mr. Wilberforce.—Consultation.—West India Slaves.—Efforts on their behalf.—Public interest in the subject.—Efforts in Parliament.—Favorable prospects.

All of the members of the African Institution had not slept over the wrongs of the slave. There were those among them, who could by no means be implicated in the charge brought by Mr. Buxton, of reposing too securely upon the laurels which had been won in former years.

The operations of the enactment of 1807 had been carefully noted, nor could its advocates fail to be aware of the imperfect manner of its working. The traffic in human beings was forbidden by law; the slave ship no longer floated with impunity on the waters of the Thames; but beyond dispute, the slave trade existed still, and with the extension of commerce, it also increased. Nor had the exertions which had resulted in procuring the acquiescence of other European powers in the restriction of the trade, at all met the case. Slowly but surely were the friends of the negro learning, that only by the

extinction of slavery itself could the traffic be effectually done away.

In 1816, an important move was made with reference to this matter. The "Registry Bill" was introduced into Parliament by Mr. Wilberforce. This measure had for its object the ascertaining of the real condition of the West Indian Colonies, with respect to the slave population.

During the progress of this bill through the House, a violent opposition was raised against it, but it was advocated in an able manner by Mr. Wilberforce, aided by Mr. James Stephen,* and was carried. It proved the beginning of a series of efforts which ended in West India Emancipation.

That there remained an arduous work to be done, was plain. The great advocate for African freedom, whose surpassing eloquence had so often charmed an unwilling audience into silence, if not acquiescence, was now in the decline of life; the

* Author of several valuable pamphlets on the slave question, especially of one which appeared not far from this time, entitled "*England enslaved by her own Colonies.*" His name should in these labors be associated always with those of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Macauley. In early manhood, he had resided in the West India Colonies, and bore from thence to his English home a confirmed detestation of slavery. By a marriage with the only sister of Wilberforce, an intimate friendship was strengthened by family ties.

cause to which he had devoted the best of his strength must be committed to other hands, nor, as has been already intimated, was he blind to the adaptedness of his younger friend to this work.

The interest excited by Mr. Buxton's speech on criminal law has been already mentioned. On the evening following this, one of his strongest efforts, he received a letter from Mr. Wilberforce, containing the following:

"LONDON, May 24th, 1821.

"My dear Buxton,

"It is now more than thirty-three years since, after having given notice in the House of Commons that I should bring forward, for the first time, the question concerning the slave trade, it pleased God to visit me with a severe indisposition, by which, indeed, I was so exhausted, that the ablest physician in London, of that day, declared that I had not stamina to last above a very few weeks. On this I went to Mr. Pitt, and begged of him a promise, which he kindly and readily gave me, to take upon himself the conduct of that great cause.

"I thank God that I am now free from my indisposition; but, from my time of life, and much more from the state of my constitution, and my inability to bear inclemencies of weather, and other irregularities, which close attendance on the House of Commons often requires, I am reminded, but too

intelligibly, of my being in such a state that I ought not to look confidently to my being able to carry through any business of importance.

"Now for many, many years, I have been longing to bring forward that great subject, the condition of the negro slaves in our transatlantic colonies, and the best means of providing for their moral and social improvement, and ultimately for their advancement to the rank of a free peasantry,—a cause recommended to me, or rather enforced upon me, by every consideration of religion, justice, and humanity.

"Under this impression, I have been waiting, with no little solicitude, for a proper time, and suitable circumstances of the country, for introducing this great business; and, latterly, for some member of Parliament, who, if I were to retire or to be laid by, would be an eligible leader in this holy enterprise.

"I have for some time past been viewing you in this connection; and after what passed last night, I can no longer forbear resorting to you, as I formerly did to Pitt, and earnestly conjuring you to take most seriously into consideration, the expediency of devoting yourself to this *blessed service*, so far as will be consistent with the obligations which you have already contracted, and in part so admirably fulfilled, to war against the abuses of our

criminal code, both in its structure and its administration.....

"In forming a *partnership* of this sort with you, I can not doubt that I shall be doing an act, pleasing to God, and beneficial to my fellow-creatures. ....May it please God to bless you, both in your public and private course. If it be his will, may he render you an instrument of extensive usefulness; but, above all, may he give you the disposition to say at all times, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do, or to suffer?" looking to him through Christ, for wisdom and strength. And while active in business and fervent in spirit on earth, may you have your conversation in heaven, and your affections set on things above. There may we at last meet, with all we most love, and spend an eternity of happiness, complete and unassailable. I must stop.

"Ever affectionately yours.

"W. WILBERFORCE."

The high regard, amounting to veneration, which Mr. Buxton entertained for the writer of this epistle, could not but render it, in some aspects, a welcome appeal; yet the charge it would lay upon him was both weighty and responsible, and regarding it so, it was not to be undertaken without due deliberation. A year and a half passed away after the receipt of this letter, a great part of which was

spent upon the study of this momentous question in all its bearings, before Mr. Buxton felt prepared to become its leading parliamentary advocate.

Many circumstances had been combining their influence, to give to this subject a strong hold upon his attention. From early childhood, a deep sense of the sinfulness of slavery and the slave trade had been instilled into his mind by his mother, and he was wont to recall an oft-repeated remark of hers upon this topic. "How," asked the noble mother of the future advocate for emancipation, "while we continue to commit so great a sin as this, can we ask forgiveness for our sins?"

He remarks of himself about this time,—"Singular that my first speech on entering college was upon the slave trade, and my first speech on entering life was at the Tower Hamlets, on the same subject."

Immediately after Mr. Buxton's entrance into Parliament, his brother-in-law, Mr. William Forster, sought to enlist him in this cause. "The exertions of the wise and good," wrote Mr. Forster, "have been directed, and through the divine blessing not without success, toward staying the progress of evil in the abolition of the slave trade; but now it is certainly time to turn the mind of the British public toward the situation of those in actual slavery."

Nor, among the various influences which were at work to enlist his powers in this object, were the dying words of the lovely and pious Priscilla Gurney without their power. Treading upon the confines of immortality, she had dropped words of heavenly wisdom, which were held among the most sacred of memories.

In October, 1822, Mr. Wilberforce spent some weeks at the home of Mr. Buxton, for the purpose of discussing thoroughly this momentous subject. Mr. Zachary Macauley* was also present; and here they met with two invaluable friends of the cause of African freedom, Dr. Lushington and Lord Suffield. Here was drawn up "the first outline of

* The father of the celebrated historian was one of the oldest and fastest friends of the cause of African freedom. If we except Mr. Clarkson, who like Mr. Wilberforce was now in the decline of life, there can hardly be named an individual, who contributed more to the final attainment of success, than Mr. Macauley. His untiring diligence in collecting facts, which he was wont to store away in his peculiarly tenacious memory, rendered him a helper in the work, who could not be valued too highly. From his matured judgment, and from his vast stores of information, the parliamentary leaders of the enterprise derived constant assistance. This was fully appreciated, if not by the friends of emancipation at large, by the acknowledged leaders of these efforts. Some years after the interview here recorded, Mr. Buxton generously and delicately spoke of his older friend as the "real leader of the cause, the Anti-slavery tutor of us all." Mr. Macauley, as well as Mr. Clarkson, lived to witness the first triumph of emancipation.

those plans in which each, from this time, took his respective share."

Soon after this, Mr. Wilberforce wrote to Mr. Buxton, requesting a visit from him at Marden Park, adding, "My idea is, that a little before Parliament meets, three or four of us should have a secret council, wherein we should deliberate to decide what course to pursue."

Mr. Buxton was by this time thoroughly committed to the work; and, repairing to the residence of Wilberforce, some time further was spent in conferring upon future measures, such as the friends of the slave hoped might lead to a successful issue.

Of the spirit in which this session of Parliament, which was to open to Mr. Buxton a new and arduous career, was commenced, we may learn from the following entry in his common-place book.

"Oh for that spirit of devotion, of gratitude, of love to Christ, of indifference to the world, which the Lord gave me during my illness! Let me then never pass a day without serious and repeated prayer,—that is indispensable. Let me renounce the world as much as possible; as much as possible acknowledge God in all my ways and words, and let me manfully resist every temptation which may assault and endanger my soul. O God, grant these things through thy blessed Son! Next, how can I

promote the welfare of others? *In private*, by more seriousness in family devotions, and by much more command of temper; by more industry; by more economy; sparing on my own pleasure, and expending on God's service. *In public*, by attending to the slave trade, slavery, Indian widows burning themselves, the completion of those objects which have made some advance, viz. criminal law, prisons, and police. Send thy blessed Spirit, O great God, to my aid, and for my guidance, that, renouncing sin, I may walk worthy of my 'high vocation, in and through Jesus Christ my Lord.'"

To his friend Mr. North, Mr. Buxton wrote at this time,—

"Now get into Parliament, and be wise enough to come there absolutely independent.....Come into Parliament, and join us with all your force on such subjects as the abolition of the slave trade and slavery, the improvement of the criminal law and prisons, the advancement of civilization and Christianity in India. Make these and such as these your objects, and you will do vast service to mankind."

Again to the same, soon after:

"I presume you have seen that the great subject of slavery has fallen into my hands. I count on you as an assured coadjutor. Will you accept a

few pamphlets, by way of brief, and some for circulation among persons of influence."

To Mrs. Buxton he wrote,—

"I am getting very earnest about slavery; it seems to me that this is to be the main business of my life."

Those who had hitherto been fellow-laborers with Mr. Buxton in other objects, now joined heartily in this; especially Dr. Lushington, in the House of Commons, and Lord Suffield in the upper House, and the work seemed sure of an auspicious beginning. Mr. Wilberforce, about this time, published his well-known "Appeal on behalf of the Slaves," and an anti-slavery society was formed, of which Mr. Buxton was made a Vice President; and again the committee engaged warmly in collecting evidence, and spreading throughout the country the information which they gathered.

"Public feeling," says the biographer of Buxton, "was soon roused into activity, and petitions began to flow in; the lead was taken by the Society of Friends, and it was determined that the presentation of their appeal by the hands of Mr. Wilberforce, should be the opening of the parliamentary campaign. He introduced it by saying, that a similar petition which he had had the honor of presenting nearly thirty years before, had been the first effort against the kindred iniquity of the slave trade,

and that in presenting this one, he considered that the first stone was laid of an edifice which would flourish at some future period, an ornament to the land."

"Mr. Canning asked whether it was his intention to found any motion upon it? Mr. Wilberforce said 'It was not, but that such was the intention of an esteemed friend of his.'

"Mr. Buxton then gave notice, that on the 15th of May, he 'would submit a motion, that the House should take into consideration the state of slavery in the British Colonies.'"

On the appointed day, the subject was duly opened, and the first debate on the subject of negro slavery took place, beginning by a resolution moved by Mr. Buxton to this effect: "That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and the Christian Religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British Colonies, with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned."

The debate which followed was a warm one. There were those present who had sought to deter Mr. Buxton from agitating the subject, on the ground that "the danger arose not from slavery itself, but from the discussion of slavery in the House." This objection he disposed of as follows:

"What then," he exclaimed, "does the slave require from us any hint that he is a slave; and that slavery is of all conditions the most miserable? Why, sir, he hears this, he sees it, he feels it too, in all around him. He sees his harsh uncompensated labor; he hears the crack of the whip; he feels—he writhes under the lash. Does not this betray the secret?

'This is no flattery; these are counselors
That feelingly persuade him what he is.'

"He sees the mother of his children stripped naked before the gang of female negroes, and flogged unmercifully; he sees his children sent to market, to be sold at the best price they will fetch; he sees in himself not a man, but a thing—by West Indian law a chattel, an implement of husbandry, a machine to procure sugar, a beast of burden! And will any man tell me that the negro, with all this staring him in the face—flashing in his eyes, when he rises in the morning and when he goes to bed at night—never dreams that there is injustice in this treatment, till he sits himself down to the perusal of an English newspaper, and there to his astonishment discovers, that there are enthusiasts in England, who from the bottom of their heart deplore and abhor all negro slavery? There are such enthusiasts; I am one of them; and while we breathe,

we will not abandon the cause, till that thing—that chattel—is reinstated in all the privileges of a man."

Notwithstanding the spirited manner in which the work was begun, it will be perceived that the position taken by the abolitionists was an extremely moderate one. Mr. Buxton spoke, indeed, of the *extinction of slavery* as a final result, but dwelt chiefly upon an improvement in the condition of the slaves, that they might be prepared for a state of freedom. The immediate emancipation of the negro children was advocated by him, among his earliest efforts.

Certain amendments to Mr. Buxton's resolution were moved and finally carried by Mr. Canning. Those which passed the House were as follows:

1st. "That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the slave population in his Majesty's colonies.

2d. "That through a determined and persevering, but, at the same time, judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

3d. "That this House is anxious for the accom-

plishment of this purpose, at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property."

This last clause, recognizing distinctly the right of proprietorship in human beings, occasioned much discussion previous to its being adopted.

Though the emancipation of the children was lost, and the resolutions were only recommendatory, this debate was considered as a favorable beginning, and justifying the emphatic words of Mr. Buxton at its opening, namely: "A few minutes ago was commenced the process which will conclude, though not speedily, in the extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions."

In accordance with the resolutions of the House, circular letters were now addressed to the various colonial authorities. The following reforms were recommended.

1st. To provide the means of religious instruction and Christian education for the slave population.

2d. To put an end to markets and to labor on Sundays; and instead of Sunday, to allow the negroes equivalent time on other days for the cultivation of their provision grounds.

3d. To protect the slaves by law in the acquisition and possession of property, and in its transition by bequest or otherwise.

4th. To legalize the marriages of slaves, and to protect them in the enjoyment of their connubial rights.

5th. To prevent the separation of families by sale or otherwise.

6th. To restrain generally the power, and to prevent the abuse of arbitrary punishment at the will of the master.

7th. To abolish the degrading corporeal punishment of females.

8th. To admit the testimony of slaves in a court of justice.

9th. To prevent the seizure of slaves detached from the estate or plantation to which they belonged.

10th. To remove all the existing obstructions to manumission, and to grant to the slave the power of redeeming himself and his wife and children at a price.

11th. To abolish the use of the driving whip in the field, either as an emblem of authority or as a stimulus to labor.

12th. To establish Savings Banks for the use of the slaves.

So moderate were these counsels, that the storm of indignation which was aroused by them could have been little anticipated. Mr. Buxton was invited at this time by Lord Huntingdon to visit the West Indies, and meditated making the voyage thither; but he was dissuaded from it by the riper judgment of Mr. Wilberforce.

CHAPTER VIII.

1823—1826.

Excitement in the West Indies.—Rebellion.—Severe Measures.—Persecution and death of a Missionary.—Mr. Brougham.—The Anti-slavery party reproached.—Mr. Canning.—Vacillation of the English government.—A year's delay.

THE resolutions which had passed the House of Parliament, mild as they were, found little favor among the West Indians. Greater displeasure could hardly have been raised, had Mr. Buxton proposed, and Mr. Canning favored, an immediate act of emancipation for the slaves.

As a single specimen of the language called forth upon this occasion, the following may be cited from a Jamaica Journal, dated June 28, 1833: "We will pray the Imperial Parliament to amend their origin, which is bribery; to cleanse their consciences, which are corrupt; to throw off their disguise, which is hypocrisy; to break off with their false allies, who are the saints; and finally to banish from among them all the purchased rogues, who are three-fourths of their number."

The colonial legislatures absolutely refused to

acquiesce in the recommendations of the government; did not hesitate to speak of defending themselves in the exercise of their rights by force of arms; and even proposed casting off the yoke of the mother country altogether. In this extreme, they thought it would be the surest way to obtain security from interference with their domestic institutions, to place themselves under the protection of the United States of America.

In the island of Demerara, the authorities sought to conceal the doings of Parliament from the negroes. This attempt was fraught with the most unhappy consequences. The matter could not be wholly concealed, and confused and exaggerated rumors reached the ears of the slaves. They "fancied that the 'great King of England' had set them free, and that the planters had suppressed the edict; and under this impression, the slaves on several estates refused to work. Compulsion was resorted to; they resisted, and commenced outrages upon the persons and property of the whites. Martial law was proclaimed, and the soldiers were called out."

A terrible retribution awaited the rebel negroes. It was thought best by the authorities to make of them "tremendous examples." Their death was not sufficient; they must be destroyed by torture. These unfortunate victims were actually beaten to

death; having been sentenced to receive, in some instances, a thousand lashes.

But the severities which were visited upon the rebel slaves were by no means the end of the matter. Another class of persons became obnoxious to the jealous and irritated planters. These were the religious teachers of the slaves. Through the labors of missionaries, sent out by the various religious societies of England, many of the slaves had become Christians. To a portion of the planters this had never been pleasing, and now they determined to put an end to it altogether. When the rebellion broke out, the missionaries found themselves accused of being its abettors.

The course pursued by these religious teachers had been so manifestly an opposite one from that of which they were accused, that there was little difficulty in clearing themselves from the charge, when once an impartial hearing was obtained; but, situated as they were, this was not always possible. The first case of this sort was that of Mr. Smith, of Demerara. After a trial which was both "unjust and illegal, before a court martial of militia officers, he was condemned to be hanged; but his treatment in prison destroyed his already failing health, and he died in his dungeon, in time to anticipate his execution."

The charges brought against this devoted mis-

sionary were afterward triumphantly refuted. The eloquence of Lord Brougham upon that occasion threw an added interest upon his history, and showed that the insurrection of Demerara was a most extraordinary one, a portion of the negroes having been so instructed, that they utterly refused to take part in deeds of violence. With reference to these, the noble orator remarks:—

"They (the slaves) were satisfied with combining not to work, and thus making their managers repair to the town and ascertain the precise nature of the boon reported to have arrived from England. The calumniated minister had so far humanized his poor flock,—his dangerous preaching had so far enlightened them,—the lessons of himself and his hated brethren had sunk so deep in their minds, that by the testimony of the clergymen, and even of the overseers, the maxims of the gospel of peace were upon their lips in the midst of rebellion, and restrained their hands when no other force was present to resist them. 'We will take no life,' said they, 'for our pastors have taught us not to take that which we can not give,'—a memorable peculiarity to be found in no other instance of negro warfare, and which drew from the truly pious minister of the Established Church the exclamation, 'that he shuddered to write that the planters were

seeking the life of the man whose teaching had saved theirs.' "

An incident is recorded in connection with the death of this martyred missionary, which may well find place here. While a prisoner in that dismal cell whence he was released by death, he was compelled by his persecutors, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of his mock trial, to draw a bill upon the funds of the London Missionary Society. Some years after, the Secretary of the Society, in arranging some papers, met with this bill. Subsequent events had given to it an interest, and he examined it with some care. On one corner of the sheet he observed a few characters so minute as to have escaped attention, but which proved to be a reference to 2 Cor. 4 : 8, 9. On turning to the passage, he read the words, "We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed."

It will readily be seen that these events, occurring in the colonies, were likely to involve the leaders of the anti-slavery movement in consequences the most grievous. It was indeed a time for the thinning out of their ranks, for the falling off of lukewarm friends, for the decay of zeal on the part of many, of all, in fact, save those who had made these efforts from a regard to duty and in the fear

of God. Now had come their hour of trial. Those whom they had deemed their friends not only withdrew from their company, but joined in the loud outcry against them, denouncing them as the cause of the West India agitations. "But," says the biographer of Buxton, "the angry reproaches which rang in his ears were as nothing, when compared with the mortification he experienced on discovering that the government, appalled by the consequences of the steps which they had taken, and apparently as regardless of their own dignity, as of the interests of their black subjects, were determined to forfeit the pledge which Mr. Canning had given—'that if obedience were not voluntarily rendered by the colonial legislatures it should be enforced!'"

That which was at first matter of surmise, was soon confirmed. The government drew back almost entirely from the ground which had been assumed. "I had," wrote Mr. Buxton, "a very unsatisfactory interview with Canning.....The government mean to forfeit their pledge, and do next to nothing." Meantime he was himself occupied with a plan which contemplated the immediate emancipation of all children under seven years of age, the masters to be amply compensated, and the children to be maintained by the government, until apprenticed, becoming fully free when of age.

There was, however, little encouragement in any quarter. The storm of opposition rather increased than lessened. The government did not even attempt to conceal their relinquishment of the ground they had held, and the anti-slavery leaders found themselves objects of public odium. Mr. Buxton, from having recently stood in the high place of esteem and admiration which his eloquence had won, found himself denounced in no measured terms. "I much question," he wrote at this time, "whether there is a more unpopular individual than myself in the House, just at this moment."

So far as this affected him personally, he seems to have received it with admirable coolness. He had counted the cost, before beginning, anticipating the possibility of just the adverse events which had come to pass.

Mr. J. J. Gurney wrote to him at this time:

"NORWICH, 3d month 18th, 1824.

"My dear Brother,

"I feel very much for thee and for our cause in the prospect of the approaching discussion in Parliament, and I feel inclined to remind thee (however needlessly) of the apostle's injunction, 'Quit you like men, be strong.'....

"I look upon colonial slavery as a monster, who must have a very long succession of hard knocks before he will expire. Why should we expect to

get his extinction *into full train* in less than ten years? And why should we be discouraged overmuch, if the first knock has no other effect than to render the gentleman more lively and energetic than usual?.... With regard to thyself, as I am fond of thy popularity, I am prone to dislike the contrary. But I have a strong belief that, in due time, thy history will afford a plain exemplification of the certainty of a divine promise, 'Them that honor me, I will honor.' Till then, be content to suffer thy portion of persecution, and let no frowns of adversaries, no want of faith, no private feeling of thy own incompetency, either deprive thee of thy spirits, or spoil thy speech."

Here were sympathy and encouragement, both real and timely. There had been a sad division in the anti-slavery councils; while Mr. Buxton desired immediately to make apparent the inconsistency of the government, he found some of his friends doubting the expediency of at once embarking on so bold a course.

The prospect was indeed full of difficulty. "The weight of business," wrote Mr. Buxton, "and still more of thought, which overhangs me at this time, is greater than I ever experienced before." He labored greatly at such a time as this, under the fear of injuring a good cause through a wrong presentation of it. A spirit less strong than his would

surely have shrunk from advancing at this crisis. "The small anti-slavery party in Parliament were attacked on all sides with fury. Even in the House, they were stigmatized with the names of 'enthusiasts,' 'saints,' and similar epithets, while beyond its walls, a perfect hurricane of abuse assailed them; and now if the government were to be swayed by the tide of public opinion, and abandon its schemes of the previous year, how could their small unaided band indulge the hope of even ultimate success in their undertaking?"

Their fears were fully realized. The government withdrew from the ground. Mr. Canning suddenly discovered that those with whom he had consorted a year ago, were now acting "under the influence of enthusiasm;" he would only "admonish" the colonies, not coerce them at all in the matter.

A few of the West India islands were under the immediate control of the government, having no legislatures of their own. In one of these alone, was obedience to be enforced. The ameliorations were to be compelled in the island of Trinidad, but the others were simply recommended to adopt them.

Mr. Canning, the organ of the government, the premier of the realm, exerted all his eloquence on this occasion, and was fearlessly answered by Mr. Buxton. He charged upon the government a weak,

vacillating spirit. He read over the resolutions of a year before, embodying "a distinct pledge from the government that the condition of the slave population should be ameliorated."

"Now," said Mr. Buxton, "if this full and comprehensive pledge, this engagement given as to *all* the colonies, is to be frittered down, for the present at least, to a single island; if the advantages promised are to be granted, indeed, to the 30,000 slaves in Trinidad, but withheld from the 350,000 in Jamaica, and the 70,000 in Barbadoes; if the '*earliest period*' is to be construed to mean some time, so undefined and distant, that no man can say in what century it will take place; if our pledge to do this, is now to mean no more than that we will suffer it to be done, by the slow and gradual course of admonition and example, then, I see no reason why ten centuries may not elapse before the negroes are freed from their present melancholy and deplorable thralldom. We, who have engaged in the cause, we, at least, will be no parties to such a desertion of duty, to such a breach of faith.

"I well know," he added, "the difficult position in which I stand. No man is more aware than I am, of my inability to follow the brilliant and able speech which has just been delivered. But I have a duty to perform, and will perform it. I know well what I incur by this. I know how I call down

upon myself the violent animosity of an exasperated and powerful party. I know how reproaches have rung in my ears since that pledge was given, and how they will ring with tenfold fury now that I call for its fulfillment. Let them ring! I will not purchase for myself a base indemnity, with such a sting as this upon my conscience. You ventured to agitate the question; a pledge was obtained; you were, therefore, to be considered the holder of that pledge, to which the hopes of half a million of people were linked. And then, fearful of a little unpopularity, and confounded by the dazzling eloquence of the Right Hon. gentleman, you sat still, you held your peace, and were satisfied to see his pledge, in favor of a whole archipelago, reduced to a single island."

He then went into a series of proofs of the suffering condition of the slaves, and closed with the following:

"What I have now said, I have said from a sense of public duty. I have no hostility to the planters. Compensation to the planter, emancipation to the children of the negro,—these are my desires, this is the consummation, the just and glorious consummation, on which my hopes are planted, and to which, as long as I live, my most strenuous efforts shall be directed!"

Mr. Buxton was well supported by Mr. Wilber-

force, and other friends of the negro. Notwithstanding the discouraging aspect of affairs, the serenely hopeful spirit of the former found expression in the following letter addressed to his friend on the day after the debate.

"BROMPTON GROVE, March 17, 1824.

"My dear Buxton,

"It was quite a disappointment to me not to see you in the House to-day. There are points on which I should be glad to confer with you. Meanwhile, I am strongly urged by my feelings to express to you the solid satisfaction with which I take a *sober estimate* of the progress which, through the goodness of Providence, we have already made, and the good hopes which we may justly indulge as to the future. To find the two Houses of Parliament, each full of members to the brim, consulting about the interests and comforts of those, who, not long ago, were scarcely rated above the level of orang-outangs, is almost as sure an indication of our complete success ere long, as the streaks of morning light are of the fullness of the meridian day. I hope I may live to congratulate you, even in this world, on the complete success of your generous labors; at all events, I trust humbly, that we, my dear friend, may rejoice and triumph together in a better world, for we, more truly than the great artist, may affirm that we are

working for eternity. And our inheritance will be enjoyed, I trust, in common with many, many of our poor black brethren, when all bondage and injustice, all sorrow and pain have ceased, love and truth, and mercy and peace and joy, shall be our everlasting portion. Oh! my friend, let us strive more and more earnestly for all that is right here, looking forward to these glorious prospects!"

In June of the same year, this veteran leader of the opposition to the slave trade retired from public life. The infirmities of increasing years warned him that the arduous field where he had so long toiled and won triumphant success for the cause of justice and right, must be left to younger hands. The advocates for freedom were small in number, but strong in individual influence and varied talent. In proof this last observation, we need only cite the names of Mr. Brougham and Sir James Mackintosh. With Dr. Lushington, of the House of Commons, Mr. Buxton maintained, during the whole conflict, a peculiarly intimate connection. "He has ever been," said the latter, "as disinterested, as honest, as generous a supporter of our great cause, as could be; and in private life, a most kind and faithful friend, with no other fault than too much zeal and too much liberality."

In the House of Lords, the cause of emancipation found a generous representative in the person

and influence of Lord Suffield, who on some occasions stood literally alone in its advocacy. The untimely death of this noble pleader against oppression and injustice, was greatly lamented by his coadjutors, and by none more than Mr. Buxton. Lord Suffield was thrown from his horse, and died in consequence, before the great struggle for African freedom was ended. He lived to share in the joy of the first triumph of emancipation, but died before the work was completed.

At this troublous period, the most that could be done was to remove difficulties, and clear away those obstructions which threatened to throw far into the distance the day of success. Dr. Lushington brought forward the case of the free people of color in the West Indies, showing them to be exposed to cruel disabilities. The cause of the persecuted missionaries was also taken up. Ample justice was done to the martyred John Smith, and his memory cleared from the slightest taint of dishonor.

"In June of the same year," says the biographer of Buxton, "he brought before the House the case of Mr. Shrewsbury. This gentleman was a Wesleyan missionary in Barbadoes, 'in whose conduct,' as Mr. Canning expressly stated in the House, 'there did not appear the slightest ground for blame or suspicion.' But the planters were exasperated against him for his exertions in the instruction of

the negroes; and it was also charged against him, that he had actually corresponded with Mr. Buxton. 'Though,' said the latter in the House, 'I never received from or wrote to him a single letter, *nor did I know that such a man existed*, till I happened to take up a newspaper, and there read, with some astonishment, that he was going to be hanged for corresponding with me!'"

The chapel and mission-house occupied by Mr. Shrewsbury were pulled down, and he barely escaped with his life, being protected from the mob by a clergyman of the English church, in whose house he was concealed. "There is," said Mr. Buxton, "in this transaction at Barbadoes, as there was also in that of Demerara, that which of all things I hate the most,—a rank, fierce, furious spirit of religious bigotry, dominant throughout the the island, and pursuing its victims, the one to death, the other to exile. But there is that, also, which does honor to human nature, and casts a glory round the church to which I belong, and which I prefer to all others,—namely, that these poor victims, Dissenters, Missionaries, Methodists, found their best friends and their most faithful advisers in the ranks of our clergy."

In a reply at the end of the debate, he said:

"I wish it to be distinctly understood, that it is my firm and unalterable resolution to devote all

my life and my efforts to advocating the cause of the slaves; and that I will persist in that course, in spite of opposition, unpopularity, obloquy, or falsehood."

In the beginning of the session of 1826, some hope was entertained that the government would do something. The orders in council had been enforced in Trinidad, with manifest benefit.

On the 1st of March, Mr. Buxton presented the London petition against slavery, signed by 72,000 persons.

On the next day, he wrote:

"We have had our debate. Canning was not satisfactory; he preferred *to give the West Indians another year*, and then to legislate."

CHAPTER IX.

1826.

Retirement.—Home.—Mr. Buxton's influence over the young.—Out-door amusement.—A favorite horse.—Sunday evenings.

We turn now with pleasure from the agitations of public life, from scenes of conflict and struggle, to contemplate the subject of this memoir in the peaceful retirement of home.

A pleasant picture, illustrative of this, is here given by his biographer.

"Once at rest in the retirement of Cromer Hall, Mr. Buxton began to lose the grave and care-worn expression which usually marked his countenance while under the heavy pressure of business in town; not that the autumn was spent wholly in recreation,—on the contrary, his studies, chiefly bearing upon public objects, were steadily pursued. He generally passed the latter part of the evenings alone in his study, frequently remaining there to a very late hour.

"Cromer Hall was often filled with an easy, social party, but he had no wish to extend his circle much beyond his own relatives, and the families in

the immediate neighborhood. He had no taste for society of a more formal, and, as he thought, insipid character; nor did he find much pleasure in conversation, though at table he would usually enliven the party by his playfulness of manner, and by his store of anecdotes, which he could tell with much force and spirit. He took great pains in providing amusements for the younger members of the circle. There is much picturesque scenery around Cromer, and large parties were often collected for excursions.....At home, also, he was energetic in setting on foot amusements for his young friends, such as acting charades, Christmas games, or amusing reading. At one time, a family newspaper was started, which appeared once a week; and great was the interest excited in reading the various contributions, grave and gay, which every one sent in. Sometimes he would give a list of poets, from whose works the juvenile part of the circle were to learn by heart, and examinations were held, with valuable books for prizes."

Of Mr. Buxton's power over the minds of those about him, drawing them out, and inciting them to action, we have the following testimony of one who was a frequent guest in the family circle.

"I wish I could describe the impression made upon me by the extraordinary power of interesting and stimulating others, possessed by Sir Fowell

Buxton some thirty years ago. In my own case, it was like having powers of thinking, powers of feeling, and above all, the love of true poetry, suddenly aroused within me, which, though I may have possessed them before, were till then unused. From 'Locke on the Human Understanding,' to 'William of Deloraine good at need,' he woke up in me the sleeping principle of taste, and in giving me such objects of pursuit, has added immeasurably to the happiness of my life."

For the benefit of the young with whom he associated, Mr. Buxton wrote a collection of favorite maxims. A few of these, copied from a rough manuscript, give an idea of their character.

"Mankind in general mistake difficulties for impossibilities. That is the difference between those who effect and those who do not.

"Burke,—'The more one has to do, the more one is capable of doing.'

"Plato,—'Better err in acts than principles.'

"Idleness the greatest prodigality.

"The endowments of nature we can not command, but we can cultivate those given.

"My experience is, that men of great talents are apt to do nothing, for want of vigor.

"Is there one whom difficulties dishearten,—who bends to the storm?—he will do little. Is there

one who *will* conquer?—that kind of man never fails.

"Let it be your first study, to teach the world that you are not wood and straw—*some iron in you.*"

A similar style of thought appears in the following extract from a letter to his nephew, who had been disappointed at an examination for a scholarship:

"This mortification is a test which will try your character. If that character be feeble, the disappointment will weigh upon your spirits; you will relax your exertions, and begin to despond, and to be idle. That is the general character of men; they can do very well when the breeze is in their favor, but they are cowed by the storm. If your character is vigorous and masculine, you will gather strength from this defeat, and encouragement from this disappointment.....

"If you were my own son, as you very nearly are, I would rather you should have failed, and then exhibited this determination, than that every thing should have gone smoothly. I like your letter much; it breathes a portion of this unconquerable spirit, which is worth all the Latin, Greek, and Logarithms, in the world. Now, then, is the time. ....If you can summon up courage for the occasion, and pluck from this failure the materials for

future success, then the loss of the scholarship may be a gain for life."

It will be seen from these extracts, that Mr. Buxton delighted greatly in fostering the manly and energetic qualities; nor is it strange that even in amusements as well as study, he set his face against listlessness and inactivity. The hardy training of his own youth made him averse to too much confinement to the school-room, and always ready to propose out-door exercises. Shooting, cricketing, and other active diversions, ever found favor with him. For the children, he was a lover of holidays, no less than persevering study. That he was very strict in enforcing his orders, no one could fail to know, but he says of himself, that he is no way inclined "*to curb the deep desires of others*, or prescribe to them how they shall be happy."

But it is not hard to imagine that the very presence of the master of Cromer Hall was diffusive of happiness, so thorough was his own enjoyment at these periods of relaxation. He well improved his retirement from public duties, in exercises which give vigor to the frame and elasticity to the mind.

"No Arab," says his biographer, "ever took greater delight in horses, than Mr. Buxton; and several of his favorites, especially John Bull, Abra-

ham, and Jeremie, were renowned for their strength and beauty."

Of one of these, an anecdote may be here related in his own words, as told to his private secretary.

"Poor old Abraham," he said, "was the finest horse I ever had in my life. At the time when George the Fourth was very unpopular, I was riding through St. James's Park, just as the king passed, surrounded by an immense mob. The shouts and groans and yellings were terrific, and there was I, wedged in among the multitude, in the midst of noises which might have frightened the most courageous animal. But my noble-spirited horse pricked up his ears, distended his nostrils, curved his neck, and stood immovable. The next day came the Marquis of ———, to endeavor to buy my horse. I said that I did not wish to sell him, that he was a great favorite of mine, and perfectly suited my purpose. Nothing daunted, the Marquis held his ground, made me first one offer and then another, and at last told me that he was not endeavoring to buy the horse for himself, but was authorized to go as far as £500 for a friend. This offer I still refused, when, as a last resource, 'The fact is, Mr. Buxton,' said he, 'it is the king who has sent me to buy your horse, and I hope you will not refuse to sell him to His Majesty.' This took me aback, but I had made up my mind; so in

the politest manner possible, with many apologies and regrets, I maintained my ground, and so the matter ended. What I meant, though I did n't think it exactly civil to say so, was, 'You may tell His Majesty that I 'm happy to hear that he 's so fond of a good horse, but so am I; and having got one, I mean to keep him!' "

The bodily strength gained by a generous use of out-door exercises, was found available in more than one of the sudden emergencies of which life is so full. Mr. Buxton's house was but a quarter of a mile from the sea-shore, and wrecks were frequent. The rumor of a vessel in danger always brought him quickly to the spot. On one occasion, he saved the life of a drowning sailor, at the imminent risk of his own. The sea was so tremendous that no boat could reach the ship,—the oldest fishermen stood in silent awe, as the craft was dashed in pieces before their eyes, her cargo strewed upon the waves. Mr. Buxton caught sight of a sailor struggling at the top of a wave. He dashed at once into the surf, seized the drowning man, and though but barely escaping being drawn out into the deep, by the strength of the retiring billow, succeeded in struggling against it till, by the aid of a rope, both were drawn ashore nearly dead.

Another feature of the home life at Cromer Hall was the religious influence exerted upon the neigh-

borhood. On Sunday evenings, his large dining-room was wont to be filled with a miscellaneous assembly, composed of "fishermen and other neighbors," joining in the devotions of the family, and listening to his "brief but well-digested comments" upon the Scriptures.

To promote the welfare of his poor neighbors was his constant care; gratifying them with small favors, as well as benefiting them in weightier matters. Proofs of their regard for him were not wanting. Having gone one day to the Magistrates' meeting, to speak to Lord Suffield, he found himself, on coming out, surrounded by a crowd of people, one of whom addressed him as "*the poor man's magistrate.*"

CHAPTER X.

1826—1830.

The Slave Trade at Mauritius.—Investigations on the subject.—Alarming illness.—Unexpected recovery.—Religious thoughts.—The Hottentots.—Letter to Dr. Philip.—Domestic sorrow.

At this time, while for a year all action upon West Indian slavery was suspended, the attention of Mr. Buxton was drawn to another aspect of the great question to which he had devoted his life.

The island of Mauritius, lying in the Indian ocean, midway between Africa and Southern Asia, came under British rule in 1810, having been for many years a French colony. France had not then prohibited the slave trade, and it had continued unchecked to a degree little dreamed of in the British empire.

Mr. Buxton was himself slow in giving credence to the reports which were rife, until they came to him in a form which could not be disbelieved. Foremost among these witnesses was Mr. Byam, a gentleman who had held a government office in Mauritius, and who, on his return to England, did not hesitate to speak out indignantly concerning the abuses which had fallen under his observation.

In this work Mr. Buxton was assisted by Dr. Lushington and Mr. George Stephen, who undertook to find competent witnesses to establish the facts. The examination of these was no small labor. One of these, an English woman, who had been in the employ of Mrs. Byam, having done various little acts of kindness to the slaves, had become acquainted with their condition. This person related that "in the middle of the night preceding the departure of Mr. Byam's family from the island, she was awakened by a low voice calling to her from without; she arose, and was terrified at finding the whole court-yard filled with negroes. They beseechingly beckoned her to be still, and then, falling upon their knees, they implored her, "*as she was going to the country of Almighty God, to tell Him of their suffering, and entreat Him to send them relief!*"

Mr. Buxton having made this a matter of careful study, brought it before the House of Commons in May, 1826. Reminding the House that the traffic in slaves was by law a felony, he affirmed that nevertheless, in a British island, there had been, for fourteen years, a systematic importation of thousands and tens of thousands from the African coast. He then proceeded to prove this statement, by witnesses of the highest respectability, concluding his speech by sketching, with a power-

ful hand, the feature of the trade which he was attacking.

After describing the system of capture, etc., he said:—

"The fourth step is the voyage, the horrors of which are beyond description. For example, the mode of packing, The hold of a slave vessel is from two to four feet high. It is filled with as many human beings as it will contain. They are made to sit down with their heads between their knees; first, a line is placed close to the side of the vessel; then another line, and then the packer, armed with a heavy club, strikes at the feet of this last line, in order to make them press as closely as possible against those behind. And so the packing goes on, until, to use the expression of an eye witness, 'they are wedged together in one mass of living corruption.'.... Thus it is that, suffocating for want of air,—starving for want of food,—parched with thirst for want of water,—these poor creatures are compelled to perform a voyage of fourteen hundred miles. No wonder the mortality is dreadful."

The House appointed a select committee, to inquire concerning the slave trade in Mauritius.

A great part of the year 1826 was employed by Mr. Buxton, in obtaining Mauritian evidence, culling from the mass of documents which he had re-

ceived, facts to be presented at the next session of Parliament. A most laborious task was this to those engaged in it. It opened up to Mr. Buxton more appalling views of the very nature of African slavery, than he had hitherto contemplated. He had warred against West Indian slavery; with this, in all its details, he had become minutely familiar; but he now contemplated the gigantic evil, not in its bitter fruits alone, but in its poisonous and wide-spreading roots. The slave ship was to him no mere fact, to be considered and dismissed. The secrets of the floating prison became not a thrice-told tale, but a powerful and absorbing presence.

That this evil and sin was palliated by many who were eminent among men,—that it was encouraged by the wise and good, at least by their indifference to its growth,—was by no means its most discouraging feature. By a strong, overwhelming sympathy with the suffering, and a profound grief and indignation at the enormities unrolled before him, giving himself unremittingly to the work of preparing for the approaching session, Mr. Buxton's labors had well nigh proved serious, if not fatal, in their effects.

During the week preceding the opening of Parliament, he became very ill. "Leeches, quiet, and abstinence from business," were enjoined by his

physician. But his desire to present the subject at the opening of Parliament, forbade the necessary cessation.

"He spent the Saturday," says his biographer, "in taking a general view of the atrocious cruelties practiced upon the negroes, both in their importation, and afterward when they were reduced to slavery. In the course of that unhappy morning, he was so completely overwhelmed with anguish and indignation at the atrocities on which he had been dwelling, that he several times left his papers and paced rapidly up and down the lawn, entirely overcome by his feelings, and exclaiming aloud, "Oh, it 's too bad, it 's too bad! I can't bear it."

The result which ensued is best told in his own words, in a letter written several months after the fearful crisis had passed.

"Nearly a year ago," he says, "the whole force of my mind, and all my faculties, were engaged in preparing for the Mauritius question. I had pledged myself to prove that the slave trade had existed and flourished in that colony; that the state of slavery there was preëminently cruel, and that persons of eminence had tolerated these enormities.

It is, I think, but justice to myself to admit, that the object was a worthy one; that my mind was imbued with deep affliction and indignation at the wrongs to which the negro was exposed. I spared

no pains, and no sacrifices, in order to do justice to my cause; and the anxiety and labor which I endured, preyed upon my health.....

"My physician at this time described my case by saying, 'You are on fire, though you are not in a blaze.' I concealed from others, I did not even admit to myself, the extent of my indisposition.

"On Saturday, May 19th, I took a survey of the case of cruelty to the negroes, and for two or three hours I was distressed beyond measure, and as much exasperated as distressed, by that scene of cruelty and oppression. I never in my life was so much moved at any thing; and I was so exhausted by the excitement, that I could not that day renew my exertions. The next morning I awoke, feeling very unwell. My wife and the family went to a place of worship, and my daughter remained with me; I think, but I have not any clear recollections, that I told her, about 12 o'clock, to send for Dr. Farre. I have a vague idea of my wife's return, but beyond that, all is lost to me. The fact was, that I was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and it was not till the following Wednesday, that I showed any symptoms of recovery. I am glad that the first object I noticed was my dear wife. I well remember the expression of deep anxiety upon her countenance, and I am sure I had seen it before. To her delight, I spoke to her, and the words I

used were those that expressed my unbounded affection for her. Thanks to her care, joined to that of my brothers and sisters, and of the medical attendant, I gradually recovered. I remember, however, feeling some surprise, as well as mortification, at finding that the day fixed for my motion on the Mauritius had passed!"

On returning to consciousness and recognizing those about him, almost the first words uttered by Mr. Buxton were in a decided tone, to the effect that "he must get up, and go to the House, to bring forward his motion on the Mauritius." When told that the day was already past, he would not credit the statement, until convinced by the sight of the newspaper, which reported the doings of the House, on the evening when the question was to have been brought forward.

After this, the Mauritius question was necessarily dropped for the year. Two years afterward, it was again revived, and after some discussion in Parliament, it was carried with triumphant success.

Mr. Buxton's recovery was gradual. He was for an interval cut off from his usual objects of pursuit, and had leisure for reflection. A large portion of his time was now given to religious meditation, and to the study of the Scriptures. The frequent marks in his Bible, and the "large portfolio full of texts copied by him, and arranged under

different heads," sufficiently attest his diligence in this respect. Valuing highly the whole of God's word, he found special pleasure in the Psalms of David. Of this he writes, on an occasion of trial:

"Finding comfort no where else, I resorted to the Bible, and particularly to the Psalms; and I can truly say with David, 'In my distress I called upon the Lord, and he delivered me.' The Psalms are beautiful, and instructive to every man who really studies them; but anguish of mind is necessary to enable us fully to comprehend and taste the pathos and eloquence of their expressions. In David's descriptions of his own anxieties, I found a most lively picture of my own mind. In his eloquent language I uttered my prayers; and, thanks be to God, I was also able to use for myself his songs of rejoicing and gratitude. I have spent some hours, almost every Sunday, over the Psalms. ....These studies have had a strong, and I trust not a transient effect upon my mind. I recur to the Bible with a pleasure, and sometimes with a delight, unknown before. When I am out of heart, I follow David's example, and fly for refuge to prayer, and he furnishes me with a store of prayer; and I hope 'I love God' better 'because he hath heard the voice of my supplication, and therefore will I call upon Him as long as I live;' and I feel what the text expresses, which I found in my text

book for this day: 'The Lord is my defense, and my God is the rock of my refuge.' And this lesson I have in some degree learned, that afflictions, as we consider them, are sometimes the chief and the choicest of mercies."

During this period of leisure, he frequently committed his thoughts to writing. Some of these consist of preparations for prayer, in accordance with the following suggestions.

"There is a practice which I have found highly beneficial, and should any of my children ever see this memorial, I earnestly advise them to adopt it.

"I am in the habit of preparing the substance of my private and family prayers. I believe that we are far too extempore in that duty; not that I recommend any verbal preparation, but a meditation upon the points on which we wish to ask the help of God. The want of this seems to me to lead the mind to wander about, and rather to fill our minds with a train of words to which we are accustomed, than our hearts with a sense of our necessities. I, at least, have found the habit of reflecting on what I shall ask for, before I venture to ask, highly serviceable.....

"I feel at liberty to submit my wants to God in small things, as well as in great; and I am inclined to imagine that there are no 'little things' with him. We see that his attention is as much be-

stowed upon what we call trifles, as upon those which we consider of mighty importance. His hand is as manifest in the feathers of a butterfly's wing, in the eye of an insect, in the folding and packing of a blossom, in the curious aqueducts by which a leaf is nourished, as in the creation of a world, and in the laws by which the planets move.

"To our limited powers, some things appear great and some inconsiderable; but He, infinite in all things, can lavish his power and wisdom upon every part of his creation. Hence I feel permitted to offer up my prayers for every thing that concerns me. I understand literally the injunction, 'Be careful for nothing, but in every thing make your requests known to God;' and I can not but notice how amply these prayers have been met."

In the year 1828, Mr. Buxton changed his country residence. The quaint old mansion known as Cromer Hall was demolished, and his letters are dated at Northrepps. Within a quarter of a mile of the new residence, lived his sister, Miss Buxton, and his cousin, Miss Gurney. Northrepps Cottage, the residence of these ladies, was a retired spot, in a deep secluded dell, approached by a retired path through the woods; and here he was wont to repair, certain of finding a ready sympathy in every plan of usefulness.

His health was far from being reëstablished,

when he was called, by the opening of Parliament, to resume his public duties.

The West Indian question came up, but the government seemed little inclined to move in the matter. The year of probation, granted by Mr. Canning to the colonial assemblies, had expired some time since; little notice had been taken of the orders in council, but the government thought best still to delay action. Little progress was made this year by the cause of emancipation. The only decided gain was the success of Dr. Lushington in the removal of certain disabilities suffered by the free people of color in the West Indies. An order in council was issued, by which they were at once placed on a level, as far as respected their civil rights, with the white inhabitants of the islands.

But though little was done during this session for the West Indian slaves, Mr. Buxton was able to carry, with complete success, another measure respecting a portion of the African race.

The London Missionary Society had, some years before this, deputed Dr. Philip to visit their stations in South Africa. This gentleman having finished his mission, returned to England, and caused to be published his "Researches in South Africa." The cruel oppression of the Hottentots, both by the Dutch boors and the English colonists, was thus set forth. By "the curse of Christian neighbors,"

these poor savages had fallen below the state of nature, being "at the mercy of all who chose to oppress them and compel their services," without even that degree of protection, afforded to a slave by his master. A motion was brought forward in Parliament by Mr. Buxton, to secure to these miserable beings their civil rights. No opposition was raised, and it passed at once, to the great joy of the friends of the African

"I wish," wrote Dr. Philip to Mr. Buxton, "you could be present at our missionary stations, when the glad tidings shall be announced; you would see many a sparkling eye, many a cheek furrowed with tears of joy, and hear your name associated with many a thanksgiving to God for this unexpected deliverance."

The privileges secured to the oppressed Hottentots were not misimproved. On a fertile tract of land on the borders of the Kat river, at the North East of the colony, was formed a Hottentot settlement. Here were introduced the arts of civilized life,—the diligent culture of the soil always yielding a rich reward to the laborer; here were soon established villages, where were schools and Christian converts. Two of these hamlets bore the names of WILBERFORCE and BUXTON.

At the close of the summer of 1830, Mr. Buxton was called away from public duty, by the pres-

sure of private calamity. His second son, a youth of great loveliness of character, and high promise for the future, was gradually sinking in a decline. The following letter was addressed to the invalid by his father, during a short absence.

"NEWMARKET, Sept. 20th, 1830.

"Here I am, my dear Harry, and I will make use of my pen while the tea is brewing. I have had a pleasant journey. To be sure, I could not read, for it grew dark about the time we got to Pearson's; but though I could not read out of a book, I read all the better a sermon out of the stars; and a noble sermon it was:—'The heavens declare the glory of God;' and it ended thus,—'What is man, that thou art mindful of him?' One part of the sermon I recollect: 'Vanity, vanity, saith the preacher, *all* is vanity.' Nay, there, Solomon, with all your wisdom, you are wrong! It may be vanity to pursue pleasure, to gratify appetite, to hunt after renown. It may be vanity to buy fine houses, preserve pheasants, plant trees, acquire an estate with the hills from the light-house to Weybourne for a boundary; but it is *not* vanity, it is excellent good sense, to serve with the heart and soul, and might and main, the Master and Creator of these heavens; it is *not* vanity, to conquer evil passions, and stifle unholy repinings; it is *not* vanity, to be patient and submissive, gentle and

cheerful, during a long and weary season of trial. It is *not* vanity, in the midst of trials and privations, to spread around a loving and holy influence, so that the sufferer becomes the teacher and the comforter; comforting us and teaching us that unsafe we can not be, while we are in the arms of a most merciful and tender Father. So said the preacher to whom I was listening, and many other things he said, which I forget at this moment; but I recollect he wound up one paragraph thus:—'Look at that cluster of stars, conceive the power which framed, and the wisdom which guides them, and then say, if you can, I am able to improve upon His dispensations; I can change his decrees for the better; not His will, but mine, be done!'

"But the tea is getting cold, so I will say no more about the sermon.....May the God of hope preserve you in all peace; help, cheer, enliven, strengthen you, and gladden you with the consotions which come from Christ our Lord! Good night, dear Harry, and all at Northrepps."

Through the autumn, the invalid continued to fail. But while the outward decayed, the inner grew strong. "It is most painful," said Mr. Buxton to a friend one day, on leaving the sick room, "it is most painful, and yet full of comfort. As painful as it can be, and as comfortable as it can be."

To Dr. Philip, at Cape Town, he wrote:

"I think it hardly possible for any father to sustain a greater loss; but then, no father can have greater consolation. As a little child leans upon his mother, so our dear Harry leans upon his Savior. He knows the event which is coming, and is prepared to meet it with entire serenity. He is truly 'walking through the valley of the shadow of death,' and as truly, he 'fears no evil.' Excuse me for saying so much on a subject which engrosses all our thoughts. You will be happy to hear that his poor mother, notwithstanding unceasing nursing, confinement, and anxiety, is tolerably well; a great mercy, and one among a multitude which are granted to us."

The object of so much tenderness lived, after the date of the above, but a single week. He died on the eighteenth of November. The following inscription, written by his father, was placed upon the tablet which marked his resting-place:

"Full of bright promise, youthful, courteous, brave,
Grace in the form, mind beaming from the eye;
All that a mother's fondest wish could crave
Were lent awhile by Heaven, and here they lie.

"Here lies the wreck; the spirit wings her flight,—
The ransomed spirit, to the realms above;
Ranges unfettered through the fields of light;
Rests in the bosom of eternal love;

"Beholds th' unnumbered hosts of angel powers,
Who round Jehovah's throne their anthems sing,
And joins that kindred band, those lovely flowers,
Cut down and withered in their early spring.

"Scenes by no tear disturbed, no sin defiled,
Scenes nor by heart conceived, nor tongue confessed,
Unveiled to thee, dear spirit of our child;—
And we are comforted, for thou art blest."

CHAPTER XI.

1830—1832.

The Slavery Question.—Increase of public interest.—Progress.—Meetings in London and Edinburgh.—Mr. Buxton's argument on the decrease of population.—Letters.—Religious meditations.

For three years, the anti-slavery movement had made little progress in Parliament, yet it had by no means remained entirely stationary. The attention of the nation at large had been turned more and more to this great question, and facts illustrative of slavery, both in its nature and practical working, were constantly circulated. The friends of the slave were gaining ground.

Of the odium which had attached itself to the cause of emancipation, Mr. Buxton had written in 1827:—

"If a man had a large share of reputation, he would lose the greater part of it by espousing the cause of the slaves; if he had a moderate share, he would lose all."

The latter he intimates to be his own case—treating it, however, with a manly indifference, highly—in keeping with his general character.

"But," says his biographer, with reference to this topic, "although in some quarters a clamorous spirit of opposition still prevailed, yet the anti-slavery feeling had been steadily making way. The planters, in fact, by their invincible obstinacy, had chilled the sympathy with which many had been inclined to regard them. They had all along been playing a losing game. The government would gladly have left the colonial legislatures to work out for themselves the needed reforms in their system; they had hurled back the quiet suggestions of the government, with every expression of defiance and contempt.

With regard to recent transactions in the colonies, he proceeds:

"They had punished the rebel negroes with a severity which shocked every feeling of humanity. They had condemned Smith to the gallows, and the Independents were against them; they forced Shrewsbury to fly for his life, and the Wesleyans were aroused; the Baptist chapels were razed to the ground, and the Baptists became their enemies."

To these outrages, Mr. Buxton had referred some time before.

"Proceed, then, faster and faster; you are doing our work; you are accelerating the downfall of slavery. A few more such triumphs, a few more such speaking testimonies to the merits of your sys-

tem, and the people of England, with one heart, will abhor it, and with one voice will dissolve it."

At the present time, (1836,) Mr. Buxton wrote encouragingly to Dr. Philip, who had returned to South Africa:

"Our slavery concerns," said he, "go on well; *the religious public has at last taken the field.*"

It was during this year, while the anti-slavery sentiment was deepening in the hearts of the people, that a position hitherto untried, was taken by the leaders of this great cause. "Views which had been slowly expanding, put on a new and more definite form."

It will be remembered, that in the earlier efforts of Mr. Buxton, he had not sought from the hands of the government the immediate emancipation of the slaves. As of our own Revolutionary Fathers, so of the leaders of this enterprise it might be said, "It is true, indeed, that in the beginning they sought not for independence." It was by close grappling for years with this great subject, that their views were changed.

With respect to Mr. Buxton, he now began to believe that there was little hope of the negroes being raised to a fitness for freedom, *while they were still slaves.* Plausible as had seemed the doctrine of a gradual preparation for liberty, it was likened by a writer of the day to "the fool of the old story,

who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim."—"If men," said the same writer, "are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever."

By close examination of the subject of slavery in its various aspects, Mr. Buxton had come to the profound conviction, that in its very nature, it was a sin against the attributes of the Most High; its practice he believed to be a crime; its effect, monstrous forms of wickedness. In this view, he was now ready to seek its extirpation at once. The anti-slavery party without, had also grown strong and zealous, and ready to second strong measures on the part of their leaders.

In May, 1830, a crowded meeting was held, Mr. Wilberforce occupying the chair. The first resolution, moved by Mr. Buxton, embodied the idea of the immediate, entire "abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions."

"The time is come," said one of the speakers on this occasion, "when we should speak out, and speak boldly, our determination that slavery shall exist *no longer*."

A similar meeting, not far from this time, was held in Edinburgh. It was addressed by Francis Jeffrey and Dr. Andrew Thompson. Said the latter, "We ought to tell the legislature, plainly and strongly, that no man has a right to property in

man,—that there are 800,000 individuals sighing in bondage, under the intolerable evils of West Indian slavery, who have as good a right to be free as we ourselves have,—that they ought to be free, and that they *must* be made free!"

These bold words, spoken by one of the most influential of the Scottish clergy, were of great power. On a subsequent evening, his eloquence was again exerted on behalf of the slave; a petition for immediate emancipation was adopted, and 22,000 names were quickly subscribed.

But notwithstanding the rapid increase of anti-slavery sentiment among the people, the government showed little inclination to go forward in the matter. Hopeless as was the task which it had undertaken, of *persuading* the planters to seek the elevation of the negro, it was still disposed to persevere in the effort. From this time, we find the leaders of the movement for freedom, contending less with the West Indians abroad, than with the government itself at home.

During the session of 1830, the subject was still pursued. Mr. Brougham's efforts obtained, on the 13th of July, a large majority in favor of ultimate abolition. Mr. Buxton, also, near the close of the session, when Parliament was about to be prorogued, made an earnest appeal to the electors throughout the kingdom, setting forth the utter

neglect of the West Indians to comply with the recommendations of the government. Mr. Canning had proposed, in 1823, that the first step in improvement should be the abolition of the flogging of the female slaves. Mr. Buxton showed from facts, that this proposed reform had not only been merely neglected, but that contrary action had been taken, and that recently, by the Jamaica legislature.

In those islands alone, which, having no legislatures of their own, were termed crown colonies, had any improvements been even attempted. Even here, the operation had been very imperfect. "Protectors" of the slaves had been appointed, but from these very men, stationed to watch over their interests, to obtain for them redress when wronged, the negroes needed protection.

Besides these efforts of Mr. Brougham and Mr. Buxton, little was done, and the whole matter of emancipation was laid over to the next year.

The spirit with which Mr. Buxton entered upon the parliamentary labors of 1831, may be learned from the following extract from his papers:

"Give me, O Lord, thy help, thy present, and evident, and all-sufficient help, in pleading the cause of the slave. Let the light of thy countenance shine upon me. Give me wisdom to select the proper course, and courage to pursue it, and

ability to perform my part; and turn the hearts of the powerful, so that they may be prone to feel for, and prompt to help those whose bodies and whose souls are in slavery. 'If ye ask any thing in my name,' said our Savior, 'I will do it.' In his prevailing name, and for his merits, do this, O Lord God!. . . .But whatever may be thy will in my secular concerns, give me patience, faith, thankfulness, confidence; a sense of thy Divine Majesty, of the benignity of Christ, a love for the Scriptures, a love of prayer, and a heart fixed on immortality. May I remember that, ere the year closes, I may be snatched away, and hurried before the judgment seat! Be with me, then, in health and sickness, in life and in death, in events prosperous and adverse, in my intercourse with my family, in my public duties, in my study. Be thou my strong habitation, to which I may continually resort. Be with me and mine, every day and hour this year."

On the 25th of March, Mr. Buxton stated his intention to move a resolution for the complete abolition of slavery. He declared, however, at this time, that he would "most readily leave the matter in the hands of government, if government would take it up."

To a member of the administration, he wrote on this subject:

"I feel bound to tell you, that upon the most at-

tentive consideration, I shall feel compelled to withhold my concurrence from any resolutions which do not declare 'the extinction of slavery' to be their object. I am aware that I do not go further in detestation of slavery than his Majesty's government; but perhaps a long and laborious investigation may have led me to a deeper sense of the practical evils of the system. In my mind, these amount to nothing short of a crime; and if it be a crime, the way to deal with it is, not to strip it of some of its worst features, but to abandon it altogether.

"I confess, I distrust all ameliorations of slavery. If the government resolve to undertake them, theirs will be the responsibility,—if they succeed, theirs exclusively the merit.

"I believe their intentions to be perfectly honest, and that they will act resolutely in carrying those intentions into execution. For these and for other reasons, it gives me the greatest pain to be unable to yield my opinions to theirs. I am sure, if I act thus, it is not from obstinacy, or from unwillingness to meet their wishes; but it is from fidelity to the cause itself, and to the friends of the cause, to whom I am pledged to bring forward a motion, not for the mitigation, but for the extinction, of slavery."

A few days afterward, Mr. Buxton presented to

the House petitions against slavery, to the number of five hundred documents.

It was during this session of Parliament, that Mr. Buxton made an able and lengthened address on *the decrease of population among the West Indian slaves.* Assisted by his indefatigable friend Mr. Macauley, whose stores of information on all subjects connected with slavery were not easily to be exhausted, also by the Secretary of the anti-slavery society, he became thoroughly acquainted with this matter in all its bearings, revealing the utter inhumanity of the system. His argument was one of great clearness and power, and such as the House could well understand and were ready to appreciate. The resolution "for the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions," brought forward by Mr. Buxton, was seconded in an able speech by Lord Morpeth. An animated discussion followed. Mr. O'Connell, always a firm supporter of the anti-slavery cause, came across the House, saying, "MR. BUXTON, I SEE LAND!" The Irish patriot prognosticated well, for the argument contained in Mr. Buxton's speech, drawn as it had been from the registration of slaves, sworn to by the planters themselves, could not be overthrown. The fact, that from the time of the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, to 1830, the number of the slaves had actually diminished 100,000, made an abiding impres-

sion on the House, and contributed greatly to open the eyes of the members to the evil of slavery, and to hasten its downfall.

In April, Parliament was dissolved, and Mr. Buxton, in view of the approaching election, found it necessary to visit Weymouth. He thus writes home from Bellfield, on the 28th of April, 1831:

"I was up at seven this morning, and have been taking another charming walk in the shrubbery, looking at the sea, which is splendid, and enjoying the epistle to the Colossians. At nine o'clock we breakfast, and at ten I renew my canvass, which was very successful yesterday.

"I found all my constituents eager for Reform beyond conception; had I voted against it, I should hardly have got any support. Is not this unexpected?

"The weather is delightful, and I thoroughly enjoy a taste of spring in the country. The walks about are lined with quantities of flowers; it *is* a charming place! Give my love to my secretary,* and tell her that I find an attorney's clerk a poor substitute.

"I hope you enjoy Simeon's visit. I deeply lament missing it; I was in great hopes we should have got a great deal out of the old apostle. Pray get all you can, and keep a piece for me."

* His daughter, Priscilla Buxton.

To his eldest son, at Trinity College:

"May 15th, 1831.

"My mind has been much turned toward you of late, and I have thought more than you might suppose of your approaching examination. Not that I am very solicitous about the result, except so for as your heart may be set on success. I should be very sorry to have you damped and disappointed; but for myself, I shall be just as well satisfied with you, if you are low in the last class, as if you are high in the first.

"But I have a piece of advice to give you, with regard to the examination, which I am sure will, if attended to, be of service; and if you remember it and act upon it, it will be useful, whenever, during your future life, you are about to engage in any thing of more than usual importance. Go to God in prayer; lay before him, as before your wisest and best friend, your case, your burden, and your wishes; consult him, ask his advice, entreat his aid, and commit yourself to him; but ask, especially, that there may be this restraint upon the efficacy of your prayers,—that his will, and not your wishes, may govern the result; that what you desire may be accomplished, provided he sees it to be best, and not otherwise.

"The experience of my life is, that events always go right, when they are undertaken in a spirit

of prayer. I have found assistance given, and obstructions removed, in a way which has convinced me that some secret power has been at work. But the assurance of this truth rests upon something stronger than my own experience. Scripture is full of declarations of the prevalence and efficacy of prayer, and of the safety of those who resort to it. 'Commit thy way unto the Lord, and he shall bring it to pass.' 'This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles.' 'Wait on the Lord, be of good courage, and he will strengthen thy heart; wait, I say, on the Lord.'

"It is not often that I give you my advice; attend to it in this instance. Depend upon it, prayer is the best preparation you can have for your examination, and for every thing else."

Parliament was, during this session, altogether occupied with debates on the Reform Bill; little was done for the cause of emancipation. The following letters were written during the autumn season of leisure.

"Oct. 26th, 1831.

"Samuel Hoare goes away to-day. Shooting has been good medicine for him; he came down with very gloomy views on the state of public affairs,—but the dangers from Reform or the rejection of Reform,—the perils of the Church and the

State, have gradually disappeared; and now, so far as he can see, the country, if not prosperous and secure, is at least threatened with no immediate danger! As for myself, I feel about shooting, that it is not time lost, if it contributes to health and cheerfulness. I have many burdens, and it is well to cast them off, lest they should so dispirit and oppress me, that I become less capable of active exertion."

This year, died one of Mr. Buxton's earliest and most valued friends, John Henry North. Their friendship, commenced at the Dublin University, had remained unchanged by time, or even by radical difference of political views. The following was addressed to the widow of his much-loved friend.

"CROMER, Nov. 20th, 1831.

"My dear Friend,

"I have not written you of late, partly from a reluctance to intrude upon your griefs, and partly from another feeling. What can I say to comfort you? There are topics of consolation for ordinary calamities, but in your case the blow has been too deep and too terrible to admit of any comfort, save one; and with that, I trust, you are abundantly blessed. I have made, however, some inquiries about you, and was distressed to hear of your extreme depression; not that I won-

der at it,—your loss has been great indeed; but I wish to say to you—Cheer up, my friend! the day is coming in which you will, I confidently believe, be restored to the object of your affection. The blow that has leveled your joys and your hopes with the dust came from the hand of a most loving Father, and hereafter you will know that it was sent in mercy and loving kindness. I heartily wish that I had sometimes the privilege of seeing you. I, too, have had my deep afflictions in my family; many of the pleasant pictures which my imagination had painted, have been destroyed. This, I believe, makes my heart more susceptible to the distress of others; and I should be glad of the opportunity of pointing out to you those passages in Scripture and elsewhere, in which I have found relief and comfort. But if I do not see you, I do not forget you. I remember your forlorn and solitary state, and the bitter contrast between your house now, and in former times.....I can conceive the dreariness of it, and how constantly you must miss such a friend as you have lost; but there is a consolation in reflecting on what he said and what he felt in his last hours, and in tracing his happy change from this sorrowful world, to the inexpressible joys and glories of which he is now, I firmly trust, a partaker.

"This is a very painful season of the year to me.

This time, almost this day, I lost a son,—and such a son! But God's will be done! I find nothing so takes off the sting of my grief as a realizing sense of his perfect happiness. My dear boy's name was *John Henry*, so named after the dearest friend of my youth.

"Believe me, my dear friend, very truly, and in sincere sympathy,

"Yours,

"T. Fowell Buxton."

The next is addressed to a gentleman who was laboring under ill health.

"It seems very long since I have written to you, or heard from you, but I am rejoiced to hear the tidings which ——— brings. The worst part of the spring is now over. I have more confidence in air and gentle exercise, than in all doctors; and I confidently hope that these will recruit your spirits and your health, so as fully to reëstablish you.

"You will remember that I spoke to you some months ago on the subject of religion. I, at least, well recollect that you received it with your usual kindness. I had some doubts as to the kind of books which you would be inclined to read. I have sent you a few, and shall be really glad to hear that you have read them and liked them.

"After all, the main purpose of our living here

is to prepare for eternity. It matters little how we fare in this world, provided a better awaits us.

"It is difficult to dwell sufficiently on these things in the busy occupation of life; and I believe that sickness is often sent in mercy, for the purpose of turning our minds to reflection and repentance; and that thus, to many, illness has been the greatest blessing of their lives. I both hope and believe that this has been the case with you. I can bear testimony, and have often done so, to your many excellent and generous qualities, but these alone will not suffice; something more is necessary, and that something is repentance for past sins, a desire and determination to obey God, and above all, faith in Jesus Christ.

"My hope and wish for you is, that you may be led to pray fervently and constantly for the Spirit of God to teach you. If you ask for that Spirit, it will be given to you; it will teach you to read the Bible; it will enlighten your mind on the truths which it contains; and, especially, it will make you to know and feel two things,—first, that God is ready to pardon even the greatest of sinners; and, secondly, that this pardon is derived, not from our own merits, but from the merits of our Saviour.

"I have been led, my dear friend, to say thus much, from the sincere interest and friendship I

have always felt for you. I entreat you to take it as kindly as it is meant, and to make good use of the leisure which you now have, in attending to the most important concern you were ever engaged in."

The following marks the commencement of a new year. It bears date Jan. 1, 1832.

"Grant, O Lord, that I may begin the next year under the guidance and influence of that blessed Spirit, which, if I grieve it not, if I follow it implicitly, if I listen to its still small voice, if I love it as my friend and consult it as my counselor, will surely lead me in this life, in the pleasant paths of peace and holiness, and as surely conduct me hereafter to the habitations of unutterable joy.

"Again and again I crave and entreat the presence and the power of that heavenly Guide. O Lord, how much have I in the past year to thank thee for! What mercy, what love, what compassion for my weakness, what readiness to pardon and obliterate the memory of my misdeeds.....

"Now am I sufficiently assiduous in the discharge of my duties? My great duty is the deliverance of my brethren in the West Indies from slavery, both of body and soul. In the early part of the year, I did in some measure faithfully discharge this. I gave my whole mind to it. I remember that I prayed for firmness and resolution

to persevere, and that, in spite of some formidable obstructions, I was enabled to go on; but, latterly, where has my heart been? Has the bondage of my brethren engrossed my whole mind? The plain and the painful truth is, that it has not. Pardon, O Lord, this neglect of the honorable service to which thou hast called me.

"Give me wisdom to devise, and ability to execute, and zeal and perseverance and dedication of heart, for the task with which thou hast been pleased to honor me. Chron. 20 : 12—17.

"And now, Lord, hear and answer my prayer for myself; my first desire is, that this next year may not be thrown away upon any thing less than those hopes and interests, which are greater and better than any that this world can contain. May no subordinate cares or earthly interests interrupt my progress. May I act as one whose aim is heaven; may my loins be girded, and my lights burning, and myself like unto men who wait for their Lord. Conscious of my own weakness, of my absolute inability to do any thing by my own strength, any thing tending to my own salvation, I earnestly pray for the light and the impulse of thy Holy Spirit, and that Christ may dwell in my heart by faith.

"Bless, O Lord God, my efforts for the extinc-

tion of that cruel slavery, or, rather, take the work into thine own hands.

"Bless, O Lord, I earnestly pray thee, bless my family, relations, and friends. With what deep affection I pass them in review, and feel that never was any one privileged to possess a larger number of faithful friends. I entreat, O Lord, that thou wouldst bless them with all thy choicest blessings, in their families, in their concerns, in their health, and, above all, in the growth of grace in their souls.

"There are some of them from whom I have received much more in kindness than I have ever requited. There are others, who seem to need special intercession. There are those with whom I have all my life been bound by the fastest ties of unclouded affection. For each and for all of them I pray thee, O Lord, turn their hearts to thyself; deliver them from pain, from sorrow, and from sin, and conduct them in thine own way to that fold of which Jesus Christ is the shepherd, and receive them at length as thine own, for the sake of Christ Jesus."

CHAPTER XII.

1832.

Reform.—Insurrection at Jamaica.—Committee of the Upper House.—Lord Suffield.—Indecision of the Government.—Division of the House.—Religious presecutions in Jamaica.

WHILE the friends of African freedom were eager for that progress which should result in the downfall of slavery, other questions were occupying public attention. Mr. O'Connell at one time, in assuming that the anti-slavery question occupied more than its share of interest in Parliament, exclaimed with reference to his countrymen:

"Oh, I wish we were blacks! If the Irish people were but black, we should have the honorable member for Weymouth coming down as large as life, supported by all the 'friends of humanity' in the back rows, to advocate their cause!"

There was little need just now of this allegation. So far from the negro question having absorbed the attention of the legislature, it had been itself for some time very nearly shut out, lost sight of, in the "convulsive struggles of the nation after Reform." Mr. Buxton was warmly interested him-

self, in that which was now the prevailing topic. From the beginning he had favored the cause of the emancipation of the Irish nation from the disabilities under which they labored, but he had made the death of West India slavery his life-work, and was as impatient of delay as the Irish orator himself.

Suddenly, however, the attention of all parties was arrested, and turned once more to the colonial interests. The insurrection of the slaves in Jamaica became the all-absorbing topic.

The exceeding irritation of the planters had had the effect to tighten the bonds of slavery. Finding themselves deprived of their former privileges of Easter and Christmas holidays, (the one entirely, the other in part,) suspecting that the king of England had made them already free, and exasperated by the belief that their masters were withholding this boon from them, the slaves refused to work. That during these years West Indian insurrections were not more bloody than they were, is to be attributed to the instruction of the missionaries, and their restraining power over their respective congregations. The spirit of the Jamaica negroes seems by no means, in the beginning, to have been murderous. Believing themselves to be free, they stood for their rights and demanded their wages. The military were called out, and no quarter was

given to the insurgents; every where they became excited and exasperated beyond the power of control; in some parts of the island, ruin and anarchy prevailed. These accounts from abroad could not but produce a deep impression in England.

While the negroes were thus insubordinate, their masters were scarcely less so. The orders from the government, that the "ameliorating measures" must be neglected no longer; the declaration that their "enforcement" would be insisted upon, occasioned such an outbreak of wrath as caused itself to be heard in the British Parliament. On the 23d of March, a warm debate took place. Lord Howick defended the conduct of the government, and in view of the circumstances, asserted that "the time had arrived when the language of exhortation should cease."

Two days after this, Mr. Buxton mentions that twenty of his anti-slavery friends had dined with him, to discuss the question of slavery, and to devise means for its extinction.

"But," he says, "this select band of our chosen friends differed upon every practical point; and opinions wavered all the way, from the instant abolition of slavery without any compensation, to its gradual extinction, through the agency, and with the cordial concurrence of the planters."

"Let me then turn," he adds, "from the weak-

ness of man, to the strength and counsel of my God. Now, if never before, I see how precious is that promise, 'If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, and it shall be given him.' I feel that I do indeed lack this heavenly wisdom. The 142d Psalm speaks my feelings."

The West Indian proprietors in the Upper House now moved for and obtained a committee of inquiry on West Indian affairs. "This committee," said Mr. Buxton, "is a pretext for delay, and nothing else; I look on it as a calamity to our cause." He dreaded the lengthened labors of a committee, which, delaying its report, would stay the progress of the main question. On this occasion, he wrote to Lord Suffield as follows:

"April 10.

"My dear Lord,

"Will you have the goodness to ascertain for me, when you have an opportunity, what the powers of this hopeful committee are likely to be, with regard to witnesses; whether it will authorize us to send for them from the West Indies, etc., by agreeing to pay their expenses, and remunerate them for the loss of time and business; and whether the anti-slavery party, that is, *yourself*, will have any authority or control in the committee?

"I protest, I think you Lords are even worse

than we Commons, bad as we are. I could hardly listen to them in silence the night before last, or refrain from cheering the solitary voice that was lifted up for truth and righteousness. Well, much as we must lament that there are not many to echo it, how deeply rejoiced and thankful am I, and that in the name of the best people of England, and all the slaves, that there is that *one!* Personally, I can not but congratulate you on what I consider preëminently the post of honor."

A few days after, he writes again to the same friend:

"Away with all mortification. I can truly say that I would rather incur obloquy, and shame, and disappointment in our good cause, that get glory in any other; and I know nothing of your mind, if you are not of the same opinion."

One of the witnesses examined on this occasion by the committee from the House of Lords, was Mr. Buxton himself. From his abundant knowledge and resources, he prepared with great care, to meet this occasion, twenty-seven documents.

At this time he underwent in the House of Lords, a long cross-examination. The topic of the rapid decrease of the slave population occupied much attention. The tables which had been prepared on this subject were subjected to the closest

scrutiny, and their correctness could not be doubted.

Mr. Buxton's evidence related also to a large variety of topics, with which, by long directed attention to the matter, he had become familiar. Among these were "the moral debasement and physical sufferings of the slaves,—the frightful waste of human life connected with slavery,—the impediments to religious instruction,—the causes and progress of the late insurrection,—the advantages of an early emancipation, both to masters and slaves,—and the danger of delaying it."

This abundant testimony was not without its effect. The report of the committee was, as Mr. Buxton had anticipted, indecisive; but some friends were gained to the cause by the presentation of the subject. Lord Suffield no longer stood alone, as the friend of the slave.

On the 12th of May, an animated public meeting was held, at which Mr. James Stephen, the brother-in-law of Mr. Wilberforce, presided. This gentleman was now one of the oldest of the English abolitionists.

Mr. Buxton addressed the meeting, closing as follows:

"When I trace this system through its baleful ramifications, when I contemplate this hideous cluster of crimes, there is but one language, the lan-

guage of divine inspiration, that can convey what passes within me. 'They are a people robbed and spoiled; they are all of them snared in holes, and they are hid in prison houses; they are for a prey, and no man delivereth, for a spoil, and no man restoreth.' When we look at the career of affliction of our brother man,—for, after all, he is our brother, moulded in the same form, heir to the same immortality, and, although in chains and suffering, on a level in the eyes of God, with the proudest noble in that committee which has been appointed to sit in judgment upon him; when I view him entering life by the desert track of bondage; when I view him writhing under the lash of his tormentor; when I see him consigned to a premature and unregarded grave, *having died of slavery;* and when I think of the preparation which we, good Christian men and women, have enabled him to make for his hereafter,—there can be but one feeling in my heart, one expression on my lips: 'Great God! how long, how long is this iniquity to continue?'"

The precise relations of the slave question at this period, are thus set forth by the biographer of Mr. Buxton:

"The position in which the government, the West Indians, and the abolitionists, stood to each other in 1832, was nearly that of equilibrium. The abolitionists had received a considerable acces-

sion of Parliamentary force in the late general election, many of the candidates having pledged themselves to take the anti-slavery side.

"With his hands thus strengthened, Mr. Buxton determined to press forward again the resolutions moved the preceding year, aiming at an abolition of slavery at once speedy and safe. But to this idea of speedy emancipation, the ministers were by no means prepared to yield. They fully admitted the principle that slavery should be abolished; but they were still clinging to their old notion of gradually mitigating its evils before doing it away."

The fact of the strength of the West Indian party in the House, is thus stated:

"Many of the great land-owners at home held colonial property also, and inherited with it a hatred of that 'reckless enthusiasm,' which was bent on taking away their slaves. It was therefore the policy of the government, to avoid bringing the anti-slavery question to a crisis; to keep it at arm's length; and, by preventing it from coming to the test of a division, to escape committing themselves to either one or the other of the opposing parties. Against such a policy, it behooved the negro's advocate to stand firm." But this was rendered the more difficult to Mr. Buxton, by his hearty attachment, in general, to the political principles of the

present administration, and by "his personal regard for many of the members of the cabinet."

Not only so, but to the present ministry he looked with more of hope, than, in case they were displaced, he could repose in any who might succeed them. These considerations greatly added to the perplexities of his course; yet vigorous measures must be taken.

"Deeply versed in the policy of the West Indies, it was to him a thing plain and undoubted, that no policy could be so pernicious, as that of hesitation and delay. He thought that the dangers of rapid emancipation were not nearly so great as they were held to be. He believed that a good police and kind treatment would suffice to prevent those 'frightful calamities,' (the result of such an act,) which Sir Robert Peel shuddered to contemplate. He boldly stated his belief that the negroes would go to work for wages, as soon as they were released from the terrors of the whip. And that, at any rate, the legislature would find it the most hopeless task in the world, to do what Lord Althorp called 'employing itself most usefully,' in bringing the slaves to such a state of moral feeling as would be suitable to the proposed alteration in their condition.....Besides this tried and tested hopelessness of producing any real effect by mitigatory measures, there was another still weightier

reason for not delaying the day of freedom. In this case, most surely, indecision would be decisive. A moral effect had been produced by the prolonged discussions of the question. The planter had been exasperated to the highest pitch of indignation; the slave had learned reflection, but not self-control. A breach, deadly and imminent, lay between them; already some mutterings had been heard of the storm, which would surely burst with terrific fury, if steps were not taken to turn its wrath aside."

Yet still willing to try the "temperate enforcement of ameliorating measures," the government was disposed to defer grappling with the main question. Just at this point it was, that Mr. Buxton came to issue with the administration; and, to place the matter in its proper shape and bearing, he persisted in the most resolute step of his whole life. Indeed, as it appeared in the future, final success a good deal depended upon the bold position he assumed at this crisis.

It was the part of this delaying policy, to prevent, if possible, the motion from being brought forward during the present session. Next, the attempt was made to append to the resolution the words "conformably to the resolution of 1823." This was throwing the anti-slavery members entirely back to the ground held nine years before, and which, as we have seen, their leaders had now

entirely abandoned. Here Mr. Buxton offered a strenuous resistance. More than this, *he persisted in dividing the House*, "*so as to compel it to declare in the face of the nation, what it really meant to do on this great question.*"

In this measure, Mr. Buxton experienced the deep regret of acting against the judgment of some of his dearest friends. The particulars of this most remarkable scene of his public life, we give in detail from the letters of his daughter, written to the ladies of Northrepps Cottage.

"Every possible effort, from friend and foe, was made, to make my father put off his motion; and when that was found hopeless, to induce him to soften it down, or not to divide the House. Dr. Lushington was of opinion that it would endanger the cause to persevere, and difference of opinion with him is worse than any thing to my father. The government were also pressing, and the terms which they offered extremely tempting. On Tuesday morning, my father and Dr. Lushington were a long time with Lord Althorp and Lord Howick, both of whom used every argument and almost every entreaty. I believe he did not reply much at the time, but was cruelly beset, and actually alive to the pain of refusing them, and, as they said, of embarrassing all their measures."

Afterward, Mr. Buxton wrote a letter to Lord

Althorp, to the effect that it was *impossible* for him to allow the present opportunity to pass.

"Allow me," he proceeds, "to remind you that however insignificant in myself, I am the representative, on this question, of no mean body in this country, who would be, to an extent of which you have probably no idea, disappointed and chagrined at the suspension of the question. But further, (and this is a consideration far more really influential on my conduct,) I can not but feel myself the representative of a body who can not speak for themselves, and for whom I must act, without other guide than my own conscience. There is nothing, whatever may be the result of my motion, which I should look back upon with so much regret, and I may add, shame, as the having in any measure or degree slighted their interest for my own convenience, or that any of my friends in England, more particularly as those friends are powerful and important, while those for whom I am acting, however feebly, are helpless and oppressed."

Notwithstanding the resolve of the advocate of the slave that he would proceed, his suffering was extreme, in acting against his friends. He was so wrought upon by their entreaties, that at one time he exclaimed, in conversation with his daughter, that *divide he could not!*

We quote again from the letters of Miss Buxton:—

"It was early on the Wednesday morning this letter (from which the extract is inserted above) was sent, and in the afternoon he went again to Lord Althorp, who immediately gave him to understand that he saw it was of no use attempting to turn him, and that he gave him every credit for his motion. Accordingly, they resolved on their several courses, the motion and the amendment. Thursday morning, May 24th, came. My father and I went out on horseback directly after breakfast, and a memorable ride we had.....He said I could not conceive the pain of his position; that almost numberless ties and interests were concerned; that his friends would be driven to vote against him, and thereby their seats would be endangered. But then his mind turned to the sufferings of the missionaries and of the slaves, and he said, after all, he must weigh the *real* amount of suffering, and not think only of that which came under his sight; and that if he were in the West Indies, he should feel that the advocate in England ought to go on, and despise these considerations. In short, by degrees, his mind was made up. When we got near the House, every minute we met somebody or other, who hastily rode up to us. 'Come on to-night?' 'Yes.' 'Positively?' 'Pos-

itively;' and with a blank countenance, the inquirer turned his horse's head and rode away. In St. James's Park we met Mr. Spring Rice, whom he told, to my great satisfaction, that he positively *would* divide.....We came home, and dined at three. It is difficult to recall, and perhaps impossible to convey to you, the interest and excitement of the moment. Catharine Hoare, and I, and the little boys, went down with him. We were in the ventilator by four o'clock; our places were therefore good. For a long time we missed my father, and found afterward that he had been sent for by Lord Althorp for a further discussion, in which, however, he did not yield. Many anti-slavery petitions were presented; the great West Indian petition, by Lord Chandos. At length, about six, 'Mr. Fowell Buxton' was called: he presented two petitions,—one from the Arch-bishop of Tuam and his clergy, and the other from the delegates of the Dissenters in and near London. The order of the day was then called, and he moved his resolution, which was for a committee 'to consider and report upon the best means of abolishing the state of slavery throughout the British dominions, with a due regard to the safety of all parties concerned.' He spoke very well indeed, and they listened to him far better than last year; in short, the subject obviously carried much greater weight with it.....

"I will not attempt to go over the debate, or relate the speeches. Mr. Macauley's was strikingly eloquent; Lord Howick's, capital, giving such testimony to the speech of last year, as delighted me. He said it had indeed startled him, and that he had examined into all the facts, which he found undeniable; he evidently spoke under the effect of the impression it had made upon him.

"Lord Althorp proposed the amendment of adding 'conformably to the resolutions of 1823.' Then came the trial: they (privately) besought my father to give way, and not to press them to a division. 'They hated,' they said, 'dividing against him, when their hearts were all for him; it was merely a nominal difference, why should he split hairs? he was sure to be beaten, where was the use of bringing them into difficulty, and making them vote against him?' He told us that he thought he had a hundred applications of this kind, in the course of the evening; in short, nearly every friend he had in the House came to him, and by every consideration of reason and friendship, besought him to give way. Mr. Evans was almost the only person who took the other side.

"I watched my father with indescribable anxiety, seeing the members, one after another, come and sit down by him, and judging but too well by their gestures, what their errand was. One of them

went up to him four times, and at last sent up a note to him with these words, 'Immovable as ever?'

"To my uncle Hoare, who was under the gallery, they went repeatedly, but with no success, for he would only send him a message to persevere. My uncle described to me one gentleman, not a member, who was near him, under the gallery, as having been in a high state of excitement all the evening, exclaiming, 'Oh, he won't stand! Oh, he 'll yield! I 'd give a hundred pounds,—I 'd give a thousand pounds to have him divide! Noble! noble! What a noble fellow he is!' according to the various changes in the aspect of things. Among others, Mr. H——— came across to try his eloquence: 'Now do n't be so obstinate; just put in this one word, 'interest;' it makes no real difference, and then all will be easy. You will only alienate the government.'. . . .'Now,' said he, 'I 'll just tell Lord Althorp you have consented.' My father replied, 'I do n't think I exaggerate, when I say, I would rather your head were off, and mine too; I am sure I had rather yours were.' What a trial it was! He said afterward, he could compare it to nothing but a continual tooth-drawing the whole evening. At length he rose to reply, and very touchingly alluded to the effort he had to make, but said he was bound in conscience to make

it, and that he *would* divide the House. Accordingly, the question was put. The Speaker said, 'I think the noes have it.' Never shall I forget the tone in which his solitary voice replied, 'No, sir.' 'The noes must go forth,' said the Speaker, and all the House appeared to troop out. Those within were counted, and amounted to ninety. This was a minority far beyond our expectations, and from fifty upward, my heart beat higher at every number. I went round to the other side of the ventilator, to see them coming in. How my heart fell as they reached 88, 89, 90, 91, and the string still not at an end; and it went on to 136. So Lord Althorp's amendment was carried. At two o'clock in the morning it was over, and for the first time my father came up to us in the ventilator. I soon saw that it was almost too sore a subject to touch upon; he was so wounded at having vexed all his friends. Mr. ——— would not speak to him after it was over, so angry was he; and for days after, when my father came home, he used to mention with real pain, somebody or other, who would not return his bow. On Friday, Dr. Lushington came here and cheered him, saying, 'Well, that minority was a great victory;' and this does seem to be the case; but we hardly know how to forgive some of those who ought to have swelled the numbers. My father, however, can not bear to hear them blamed."

Some time after this transaction, Mr. Buxton wrote thus to the writer of the above:

"I saw T. B. Macauley yesterday; he told me one thing, which has occupied my mind ever since, and which furnished the subject matter of my meditations, as I rode by the light of the stars to Upton last night. He said, 'You know how entirely every body disapproved of your course in your motion, and thought you very wrong, and very hard-hearted, and very headstrong; but two or three days after the debate, Lord Althorp said to me, '*That division of Buxton's has settled the slavery question.* If he can get ninety to vote with him when he is wrong, and when most of those really interested in the matter vote against him, he can command *a majority when he is right. The question is settled.* The government see it is so, and they will take it up.' So reported Macauley; and, he added, 'Sir James Graham told me yesterday, that the government meet in a week,—they will then divide themselves into committees upon the three or four leading questions, for the purpose of settling them, of which slavery is one.'"

In view of the results of that apparently inauspicious evening, he recurs to certain exercises which preceded it:

"If ever there was a subject that occupied our prayers, it was this. Do you remember how we

desired that God would give me his Spirit in that emergency; that He would rise up as the champion of the oppressed? How we quoted the promise, 'If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, and it shall be given him?' And how I kept open that passage in the Old Testament, in which it is said, (2 Chron. 20 : 12,) 'We have no might against this great company that cometh against us; neither know we what to do, but our eyes are upon thee: the Spirit of the Lord replying, 'Be not afraid nor dismayed by reason of this great multitude, for the battle is not yours, but God's.' If you want to see the passage, open my Bible; it will turn of itself to the place. I sincerely believe that prayer was the cause of that division."

Of the debate of that evening, Mr. Buxton himself remarked, "the cause made a seven-leagued stride." We give a brief extract from his speech:

"How is the government prepared to act in case of a general insurrection of the negroes? War is to be lamented any where, and under any circumstances; but a war against a people struggling for their freedom and their right, would be the falsest position in which it is possible for England to be placed. And does the noble Lord think that the people out of doors will be content to see their resources exhausted, for the purpose of crushing out the inalienable rights of mankind?

"I will refer the House to the sentiments of Mr. Jefferson, the President of the United States. Mr. Jefferson was himself a slave-owner, and full of the prejudices of slave-owners; yet he left this memorable memorial to his country: 'I do indeed tremble for my country, when I remember that God is just, and that his justice may not sleep for ever. A revolution is among possible events; the Almighty has no attribute that would side with us in this struggle.'

"This is the point that weighs most heavily with me. *The Almighty has no attribute that will side with us in such a struggle.* A war with an overwhelming physical force,—a war with a climate fatal to the European constitution,—a war, in which the heart of the people of England would lean toward the enemy,—it is hazarding all these terrible evils; but all are bright and trivial, compared with the conviction I feel, that in such a warfare it is not possible to ask, nor can we expect, the countenance of Heaven."

The committee on slavery pursued its investigations during the summer of this year. Much of the evidence brought before it related to the recent insurrection in Jamaica. The lawless proceedings of the white inhabitants, the militia, the magistrates and gentry of the island, seemed, on the evidence brought forward, scarcely less insurrectionary than

the movements of the negroes. The religious teachers of the slaves had become particularly obnoxious, and every species of cruelty and insult was heaped upon them and the congregations under their care.

"I stake my character," said Mr. Buxton, "on the accuracy of the fact, that negroes have been scourged to the very borders of the grave, uncharged with any crime, save that of worshiping their God."

Seventeen chapels had been destroyed by those who had determined to maintain slavery by putting down religious instruction among the slaves. With reference to the missionaries, Mr. Buxton adds:

"There has not been, in our day, such persecutions as these brave and good men have had to endure. Hereafter we must make selections among our missionaries. Is there a man whose timid or tender spirit is unequal to the storm of persecution? Send him to the savage, expose him to the cannibal, save his life by directing his steps to the rude hut of the barbarian. But, if there is a man of a stiffer, sterner nature, a man willing to encounter obloquy, torture, and death, let him be reserved for the tender mercies of our Christian brethren and fellow-countrymen, the Christian planters of Jamaica."

It was plain that the cause of emancipation had

made a decided advance. Mr. Buxton wrote to his daughter:

"Nov. 14th, 1832.

"Here is my first frank this Parliament: I trust that before I give my last, the negroes will be elevated to the rank of freemen and Christians, and all in peace."

Again he wrote, during the same month. to Mr. Macauley:

"I am waiting for Lushington's plan. We must stick firm and fast to our claims of justice. Immediate and total emancipation is our right, and if we yield one iota of it, it must not be for the sake of the planter, nor for the sake of government, but for the benefit of the negro."

CHAPTER XIII.

1833.

Public Protest against Slavery.—Question of Compensation.—Extended agitation of the subject.—Meeting of Delegates in London.

EARLY in the year 1833, Mr. Buxton caused to be issued a brief address, inviting the religious people of England, of every name, to set apart the 16th of January as a day of prayer on the subject of slavery. In his own private papers, he thus refers to it:

"NORTHREPPS, Sunday, Feb. 3.

"I go to London to-morrow. Parliament meets on Tuesday, and I have reason to hope that the King's speech will declare that government has resolved to effect the total and immediate emancipation of the slaves.

"This then is a season, if ever there was one, for frequent prayer to thee, Almighty God, that the light of thy countenance may rest on that good cause, and on me, one of its advocates.....

"For the slavery cause, my prayer is, that thou wouldst not leave it to the weakness and folly of man,

but that thou wouldst rise up as its advocate, and wouldst dispose all hearts, and mold all events, by thine Almighty power, to the accomplishment of what is good and right. Oh! give these thy unhappy creatures their liberty, and that liberty in peace, and protect their masters from ruin and desolation. In my labors, give me always the spirit of prayer, and the spirit of confidence in thee."

The omission of the slavery question in the King's speech occasioned great disappointment, but Mr. Buxton speedily obtained a pledge from the ministry, that they would take it up, and introduce "a safe and satisfactory measure."

It was indeed no time for delays. Public feeling was becoming aroused. The religious sentiment of the nation was bearing strongly upon this subject. The tide of sympathy for the slave, and indignation for his wrongs, had been steadily rising, and now there remained for the leaders of this enterprise, the difficult task of reining in and directing to good results, the fiery zeal of a portion of their friends. In some natures, the consideration of the vastness of the evil of slavery, its malignant nature and baleful influence, produces emotions so deep, so absorbing, as to destroy the power of looking with calmness or discrimination upon the subject. Such do not always find so lenient a judgment or so charitable a construction, as was accorded them by

Mr. Buxton. In no part of his career is his nobility of soul more apparent, than in the manner in which he received even insult from the indiscreet friends of emancipation. Even when falsely accused, he could yet, when he saw that it had for its motive an excessive zeal for the cause, reply, "I like the spirit, and wish there were more of it."

From all parts of the country, there arose a protest against the giant wrong. The recent elections had brought many friends of the cause to occupy seats in Parliament.

"My father tells us," writes Miss Buxton to the ladies at Northrepps Cottage, "that the number of strangers who have come up and addressed him is extraordinary; a hundred, he thought, last night, and all on this subject. One gentleman, member for an agricultural county, told him, that he had been five months canvassing, and that all the way through, instead of Corn Laws, or any thing else, Slavery was the cry. At one out-of-the-way village, they began by asking him whether he was trying to get into the Lords or Commons? 'But,' they said, 'whichever you do get into, you must vote for the poor slaves.' So it appears there is quite a band in the House, and an army out of it."

Notwithstanding the strength within, and the pressure from without, the government moved but slowly to the work. Mr. Buxton refrained from

bringing forward a motion, preferring to await the movements of the ministry. He foresaw that only thus could the measure be carried during this session, and more than all else, he dreaded lest it should be laid over for future action. His biographer says of this season:

"His whole heart and soul, in fact, were given up to the work, and the depth and intensity of his feelings were visible in all his deportment; he looked pale and care-worn, and his tall figure began to show signs of stooping. He spoke little, and was continually engrossed in thought."

It was on Monday, the 18th of March, that he presented to the House a petition against slavery, signed by 31,000 people. This was from the city of Glasgow, and there were several memorials on the subject which he brought forward at the same time.

He proposed then to bring on his motion the following day. This had some effect to bring the government to terms. After some conference, the ministry took up the matter, Lord Althorp naming the 23d of April. Mr. Buxton then gave the matter formally into their hands, relying upon the pledge given.

He now felt that the grand point was gained, and waited for the unfolding of the purposes of the government. But new embarrassments arose. The

old tale of gradual emancipation was broached—with this new aspect,—the negroes were "to buy out their own freedom."

Full of chagrin, Mr. Buxton went to confer with his faithful ally, Dr. Lushington. A meeting was called of the special committee of the Anti-slavery Society. Plainly, by the obstructions thrown in the way of success, the government was about to fail them; the strength on which they had relied was become weakness. What should be done? The people at large were thoroughly alive to the topic. The nation was on their side. The result of their deliberations was, a crowded meeting in Exeter Hall, and the publication of a new anti-slavery pamphlet, of which, within a fortnight, two hundred thousand copies were scattered abroad.

The government now openly required the concurrence of the anti-slavery members of Parliament on the matter of compensation to the planters; and here arose dissension between the leaders of the party and their followers. The one, for the sake of gaining peacefully the desired object, anddesirous too, of promoting the good of the planters as well as the slaves, were willing that the bonus should be granted which would insure with safety the act of emancipation. The others, anxious for justice to the negro, deemed all compensation a wrong. But an intimate knowledge of the exact state of the differ-

ent parties in Parliament and Cabinet, gave to the leaders of this enterprise a certainty of the only method of successful operation. The desired end must be reached through the government, else a change may bring indefinite delay. The views of the ministry must to a certain extent be met, and to arouse them to speedy action, they must be made fully aware of the strength of public sentiment. This must be concentrated, and brought to bear directly upon those who are in places of power and trust. The vigorous proceedings of the friends of emancipation, at this crisis, are thus detailed by the biographer of Buxton:

"Lectures were delivered in all the counties of the kingdom. Crowded meetings were every where held, and the friends of the cause bestirred themselves from one end of the country to the other. The newspapers and periodicals caught the enthusiasm. The cause of mercy seemed the cause of religion, and many of the clergy did not hesitate to urge upon their flocks the sinfulness of slavery, and the righteousness of joining heart and hand for its overthrow. The flame soon spread far and wide. From every corner of the land, petitions poured in, breathing the earnest desires of the people; from Devonshire came five hundred, from West Essex three hundred; the number of signatures attached to the petitions presented this session, was calcu-

lated to amount to nearly a million and a half; and just at this moment, when the ferment was highest, a step was taken, which gave double effect to all previous proceedings.

"A circular was addressed by the committee to the friends of the cause in every considerable town, requesting them to appoint delegates, who were to meet in London on the 18th of the month, to represent in person the wishes of the nation.

"Mr. Buxton had been spending a few of these eventful days in a delightful, and, as it proved, a farewell visit to Mr. Wilberforce, at his son's house at East Farleigh; but, when the day for the assembling of the delegates drew near, he returned to town, and again plunged into the whirlpool of affairs. He found his house, which had before been a kind of depot of anti-slavery petitions, now half filled with them. In every corner they lay in heaps, with letters and papers from all parts of England; and anxious consultations were going on among the leaders of the party in London. The call for delegates had been answered to an unexpected extent; and now the question arose, how most prudently and effectually to wield the force about to join them. Nor was the moment unattended with anxiety. It was very doubtful whether so many earnest advocates could be brought to act in concert; each had his own conscientious scru-

ples, and does there exist any thing more wayward and hard to manage than the conscience of a scrupulous Englishman? They were not unlikely to mistake matters of expediency for matters of principle, and in particular, to think that it would be a crime to give the planter compensation, however much the interests of the negro might require the concession.....But the delegates, strong and independent as their views were, placed a generous confidence in their leaders, and a sufficient degree of unanimity was at length obtained.

"It was necessary to frame an address to the Premier, which should embody their sentiments. This difficult task fell upon Mr. J. J. Gurney, and the paper which he prepared received a cordial assent. On the ensuing day they met the second time in Exeter Hall, and proceeded in a body to Downing street. Drawn as they had been from almost every place of note in the United Kingdom, they included in their ranks men of every calling and denomination; among them were to be seen 'merchants, squires, bankers, magistrates, clergymen, and dissenting ministers.' Lord Althorp, and Mr. Stanley, the government Secretary for the Colonies, received them; and after Mr. Samuel Gurney had read the address and commented on it, Mr. Buxton stepped forward and pointed out the extent of the movement which had sent the delegates thither.

'This, my Lord,' said he, 'is the deputy from Cork—this is the one from Belfast; these are from Edinburgh, those from Dundee; this gentleman is from Aberdeen, that from Carmarthen; these are the delegates from Bristol, those from Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield; these from York and Leeds, etc.' "

That same day, the delegates from abroad and the leaders of the emancipation cause in London dined together. Mr. Buxton improved the occasion by speaking, when the cloth was removed, of the common enterprise in which they were engaged, "his deep sense of the Providence which had attended their course, as well as their hopes for the future, and the motives and principles by which they ought to be governed."

The outside pressure upon the government can not fail to be recognized by every reader of the history of these events, and especially of this movement, at once so extensive and so simultaneous. "It is," said Wilberforce some years before this, "on the religious sense of the nation at large which we must rely, and not on the political conscience of the House of Commons." This prophetic sentence, uttered in the early stages of the anti-slavery effort, was now receiving its fulfillment. When asked how slavery came to be abolished in the British colonies, we may fearlessly draw the answer

from the records of the times. What was it but that same religious sense of the people, quickened into life by the blessing of Almighty God upon the persevering efforts of his servants? The efforts of statesmen, orators, poets, and divines, had been for a series of years brought to bear upon this topic. An influence, small at first, and hardly felt, had yet, like the unperceived spring of a mountain river, gradually widened and deepened, till it bore upon its bosom the sentiment of the nation, a profound abhorrence of slavery, an irresistible determination that it should come to an end.

CHAPTER XIV.

1833, 1834

Debate.—Compensation.—Apprenticeship.—Death of Mr. Wilberforce.—Passage of the Emancipation Bill.—Letters to Mr. Macauley and Mr. Clarkson.

THE 14th of May at last arrived. This was the day for bringing forward the government plan for the abolition of colonial slavery. Urged on by the irresistible tide of public opinion, there was little danger of further delay.

The proceedings of Parliament commenced with the presentation of an extraordinary document,—no other than a huge petition from the women of Great Britain.

The scene has been thus described:

"Mr. Fowell Buxton, on presenting the petition from the females of Great Britain, said, 'Ten days ago, this petition was not prepared; it was not even in contemplation; but within that short period, without any solicitation whatever, it has received from all parts of the country through which it has been circulated, no less than 187,000 signatures.

I wish to consult you, sir, as to the manner in which I am to get it to the table; for it is so heavy that I really am not able to carry it.'

"The Speaker. 'If the honorable gentleman can not bring up the petition himself, he must procure the assistance of some other members of the House.'

"Three honorable members then went out with Mr. Buxton, and by the united exertions of the four, the petition was brought in and placed upon the table, amidst the laughter and cheers of the House."*

"Mr. Stanley then opened the debate. He had been Colonial Secretary little more than a month,

* "This bulky document was the result of a very simple movement. A short form of petition was sent through the country, with the intimation, that if the sheets were sent in by Monday, the 13th, they would be appended to the original in London. The time being so short, many answers to this appeal were not anticipated; but by the appointed day, they poured in from all parts of the country, in numbers almost unmanageable.

"The preparation of this petition is thus described by a member of the Ladies' Committee: 'We were hard at work at it, from ten in the morning till half past nine at night. The two petitions became enormous, much heavier than we could move, or even turn over; so we had two men to each, tureens of paste and every thing in proportion. They were like two great feather beds. One broke entirely to pieces, and we had to begin it all again; so we kept bracing them with broad tape, and at last they were sewn up, each in a great sacking, and sent off, one to Mr. Buxton, the other to Lord Suffield.'"

yet he showed that, vast as the subject was, he had completely mastered its details, had become conversant with all its difficulties and dangers, and was prepared to settle it for ever. He began," proceeds the narrator, "by noticing the depth and extent of public feeling upon the question of slavery, and that this feeling had its source in religious principle. He then entered into the history of the case."

Dwelling at some length on this, he afterward entered forcibly into the argument against slavery, founded on the degraded state of the slaves, and the rapid decrease of population.

"We are told," he said, "that the slaves, at the present moment, are unfitted for the enjoyment of the blessings of freedom; that they have no domestic ties, and no habits of industry; that they do not provide for their wants, and would not provide for their families; that they have no forethought, no discretion; and that, in short, they would be totally ruined, were you to throw them loose upon the world. . . . .Sir, it is slavery that debars them from acquiring industrious habits; it is slavery which leaves them nothing to labor for; it is slavery which takes from them all the incentives to industrious labor, which debars them from all the ties of social intercourse; and then you declare them to be ignorant of the duties of social life,—that they have no foresight, no industry, no pru-

dence, no discretion, and therefore they must continue in a state of slavery."

The speaker then proceeded to lay open his scheme for the remedy of the evil. Hitherto the advocates for the slave had listened with unmingled pleasure to this eloquent address; but at this point they became greatly dissatisfied. The two propositions which occasioned this, were as follows:

"That slavery be abolished throughout the British dominions. But that the present slaves be apprenticed to their former masters for a certain period of time; that is, should be bound to labor for them during three-fourths of the day, the master, in return, supplying them with food and clothing.

"Part of the slave's value would be secured in this way to his former owner. The remainder was to be paid in England, in the shape of a loan of £15,000,000 sterling."

This last was afterward changed to a gift of twenty millions.

For a considerable time, the discussion of Mr. Stanley's resolutions occupied the attention of the House. Apprenticeship for the negro, and compensation for the planter, were the topics which led to dissension, not so much in Parliament as among the anti-slavery party at large. Mr. Buxton hoped, by admitting the proposed idea of compensation to the planters, to obtain at least a mitigation of the

terms of apprenticeship. For this he strove unwearyingly, and not without effect. The term was finally reduced from twelve years to seven.

To refuse the idea of compensation, it was affirmed, was at once to go to war with the government. While to accept of it, was looked upon in some quarters as a lamentable "breach of principle," it was affirmed on the other side, that it was not purchase money for the slaves, but that "the West Indian interests were as worthy of being looked after as any other, and if *any commercial interest was sinking*, the friends of the country were bound to come forward and extend their help, from regard to the general weal."*

* The condition of the British West India islands, previous to the passage of the emancipation act, has been recently set forth in an able manner. Rev. Henry Bleby, for several years a Wesleyan missionary in the islands, has shown conclusively, that long before emancipation took place, or was even thought of, the utter mismanagement of the estates in the West Indies had destroyed their prosperity, and in many instances involved them in utter ruin. Many of the proprietors lived in England,—some in a style of great splendor,—entrusting their affairs to agents, who, as far as possible, imitated a corresponding style on the plantations. The latter, indeed, sometimes exceeded the former in profuseness and prodigality. In such a state of things, bankruptcy must ensue sooner or later. That these distresses had little to do with emancipation, is evident from the fact, that as far back as 1792, they existed in an appalling degree. This is shown by an official paper from the Jamaica House of Assembly. From that time till 1832, the mother country was occasionally petitioned that some

But amid these contending views, the leaders of the cause,—they who had borne the brunt of the battle, now found themselves objects of blame and contumely. New anti-slavery associations were formed, and Mr. Buxton, for the course he was pursuing, was not only publicly censured, but severely condemned. Where this proceeded manifestly from honest love for the cause, and sympathy for the slave, it was easy for him to exercise a noble charity.

To a vote of censure passed on him by a committee in the country, he thus replied:

"LONDON, June, 1833.

"Our cause is, I trust and believe, essentially prospering. Patience and confidence we can not perhaps expect from lookers-on; but we are not therefore absolved from our duty to God and the negro race, to act according to the best of our judgments and consciences; and this, I can safely affirm, I, at least, have done. My character is of very little consequence. Indeed, had I not long ago learned that I must sacrifice that, as well as almost all else to this cause, I should, between my foes and

aid should be devised, by which the commercial interests of that island might be saved from *impending ruin.*

To impute these embarrassments entirely to emancipation has been very convenient, but their causes must be sought elsewhere. See Methodist Quarterly Review, 1860.

friends, have led a very unhappy life. But I have learned that, severe as is the task of incurring the displeasure of those I esteem, my duty frequently calls for it, and I acknowledge myself amenable to no human tribunal in this cause.....Pray believe that I write in perfect good humor, but it is necessary that I be independent, and independent I will be, or how can I give an account of my stewardship?"

He was not at this time without assurances of sympathy and confidence from those whose opinions he valued most highly.

"I feel more indignant," wrote Mr. Wilberforce, "than I can well express, at the unworthy treatment dear honest Buxton has experienced."

"Every day," wrote another, "he receives violent letters of censure,—from one party for voting for the money, from another for saying the planters have no right to it; but he is under such a deep and powerful impulse for the good of his cause, that nothing else touches him."

More than all things else, Mr. Buxton aimed that the desired *end* might be accomplished during the present session of Parliament. "Were an amendment," said he, "on this plan to be moved and carried, and were we in consequence to lose this measure altogether, an insurrection would inevitably take place, and I confess that I can not

with firmness contemplate so horrible an end of slavery."

"I hope," he wrote on another occasion, "that my friends distinctly understand that my point is to overthrow the apprenticeship, at the price of the twenty millions."

When the subject of the apprenticeship came before the House, Mr. Buxton moved an amendment, limiting it to the shortest possible time, suggesting one year; "For," said he, "if we are to have neither wages nor the whip, neither hope nor fear, neither inducement nor compulsion, how any one can suppose that we are to obtain the labor of the negroes is to me unintelligible."

The most that could be accomplished, was the reduction of this period of service to seven years.

In the course of the debate, Mr. Stanley on one occasion "warned his honorable friend, (the member from Weymouth,) that any expression falling from him would come upon the minds of the negroes with much greater weight, than any similar expression coming from any other person."

In his reply, Mr. Buxton said, in allusion to this:

"The right honorable gentleman has done me the honor to say, that the language which I hold toward the negroes may have some influence upon them. If I thought that were the case,—if, indeed,

the faintest echo of my voice could ever reach them,—most earnestly, most emphatically would I implore them, by every motive of duty, gratitude, and self-interest, to do their part toward the peaceful termination of their bondage. I would say to them, 'The time of your deliverance is at hand; let that period be sacred, let it be defiled by no blood, let not a hair of a single planter be touched. Make any sacrifice, submit to any indignity, bear any privation, rather than raise your hand against any white man. Continue to wait and to work patiently; trust implicitly to that great nation and paternal government, who are laboring for your release. Preserve peace and order to the utmost of your power,—obey the laws, both before and after the period of your liberation,—and when that period shall arrive, fulfill the expectations of your friends in England, and the promises they have made in your name, by the most orderly, diligent, and dutiful conduct!'"

When the question of compensation actually came up, Mr. Buxton was strongly urged to oppose it, inasmuch as the apprenticeship clauses had been merely modified, not given up.

Here is a little glimpse of his position:

"Mr. Stanley declares that if any point is carried against him, regarding the grant, he will throw up the bill; whether or not to run this risk, is now

the very point of the matter, and numerous are the dilemmas the question involves. We had quite a levee this morning; Messrs. Pringle, Cropper, Sturge, Moorsom, and George Stephen, all came in at breakfast time, and my father made them a speech, telling them that on such a difficult and critical point, he would never enter the House with his hands tied. They wanted him to promise to fight the money battle, and to defeat Mr. Stanley if possible."

Mr. Buxton went to the House. When the division came up, he voted for the grant of twenty millions pounds to the planters, "as the best chance and the fairest prospect of a peaceful termination of slavery."

"I did it," said he, "to save bloodshed. I am glad I did it. I would do the same again."

One amendment he proposed. If the payment of one half the money were delayed till the period of apprenticeship expired, it might insure a more humane and successful carrying out of the provisions of that system. This was, however, thrown out.

Mr. Buxton wrote thus to a friend, on the first of August:

"Last night, at twelve o'clock, we got through that committee; the bill, therefore, for the abolition of slavery, must pass this session, and may Provi-

dence make it a blessing to millions. We were defeated on my proposition to hold back half the money till the apprenticeship was over. Stanley declared that if we carried that proposal, he would throw up the bill.....To-morrow night we have the report, and on Monday, the third reading. How grand it is to be so near the top of the mountain, which it has taken ten years to climb;—it makes me quite cheery. Upon an average, I have had to make, during the last fortnight, one long, and two short speeches per diem, so that I have lost all sense of modesty."

The joy of these triumphal days was shadowed by one event of solemn interest,—the death of Mr. Wilberforce. By a singular coincidence of circumstances, the great anti-slavery leader of former days had come up to London at this very time. He died on the 29th of July. "Thank God," exclaimed he, shortly before his death, "that I have lived to witness a day, in which England is willing to give twenty millions sterling for the abolition of slavery."

In the House of Commons, the announcement of his death was received with peculiar feeling. Who could so appropriately address his associates at this moment, as the man who had taken up the cause of African freedom precisely where its first great advocate had left it? After expressing his

love and admiration for his departed friend, Mr. Buxton applied to him the following beautiful lines of Cowper:

"A veteran warrior in his Christian field,
Who never saw the sword he could not wield;
Who, when occasion justified its use,
Had wit, as bright, as ready to produce;
Could draw from records of an earlier age,—
Or from Philosophy's enlightened page,
His rich material—and regale the ear
With strains it was a luxury to hear."

On the 7th of August, 1833, the bill for the total abolition of colonial slavery passed the Lower House.

"The bill has already passed the House of Commons two or three hours," wrote Miss Buxton to Mr. Macauley; "would that Mr. Wilberforce had lived one fortnight longer, that my father might have taken back to him fulfilled, the task he gave him ten years ago!"

Mr. Buxton wrote, on the following day:

"LONDON, Aug. 8.

"I have been intensely engaged in winding up, or watching the winding up, of this, the main object of my life. The bill passed its third reading last night, and I can not but feel deeply relieved, and very thankful, great as are its faults. May a blessing be with it!.... The thing is done; and all the duty respecting it, which remains for us, is to

do our utmost to render both the people of England and the negroes satisfied with it, and to labor for the religious instruction of the latter."

To his oldest friend and fellow-laborer, he wrote thus:

"T. F. Buxton to Zachary Macauley, Esq.

"Aug. 20.

"Surely you have reason to rejoice. My sober and deliberate opinion is, that you have done more toward this consummation than any other man. For myself, I take pleasure in acknowledging that you have been my tutor all the way through, and that I could have done nothing without you..... Hundreds of thousands of human beings will have reason, here and hereafter, to thank God that your zeal never slackened, and that you were enabled to labor on against difficulties and obstacles, of which no one, perhaps, except myself, knew the extent; dragging to light one abomination after another, till the moral and religious feeling of the country could endure no longer."

On the 28th of August, the bill for the abolition of British slavery, having passed the House of Lords, received the royal assent, and became a law.

One of the very earliest pioneers in the cause of the negro was still living, and to him Mr. Buxton addressed the following:

"Sept. 22, 1833.

"T. F. Buxton to Thomas Clarkson, Esq.

"My dear sir,

"I can not forward to you the enclosed Act, without a line to inquire how you are, and to say how sincerely I trust you are really cheered and happy in the contemplation of the *abolition of slavery!* I am sure you ought to be, for you have greatly contributed toward it.....Such as it is, it is done; and I do more and more think we ought to be very grateful and satisfied. It was a mighty experiment at best; but we trust that it will answer to the full, and be, as it were, the pulling away of the corner stone of slavery throughout the world.

"I should be delighted to hear *your* opinion of the matter."

"I am," said Mr. Clarkson in his reply, "immeasurably, more than I can express, thankful to God, for that rich display of his mercy, which at length, in his own good time, he has vouchsafed to manifest to the African race. That the bill is not entirely what I could have wished, I have no objection to confess, but yet I am thankful, inexpressibly thankful for it."

CHAPTER XV.

1834.

Efforts for the improvement of the emancipated slaves.—The day of freedom, Aug. 1, 1834.—Its celebration in England—in the West Indies.

How will the news of coming freedom be received by the enslaved?—This was the question that now agitated the minds of those who cared for the interests of the negro. When the news actually arrived of the peaceful condition of the colonies, the unexceptionable manner in which the news of the Emancipation Act had been received, Mr. Buxton wrote thus in his journal:

"Dec. 29th, 1833.

"In turning to my prayers for the anti-slavery cause, on last new year's day, I can not but acknowledge that they have been most signally and surprisingly fulfilled. Thou, O Lord, hast stood forth its advocate, thou hast controlled events, and disposed the nation to the accomplishment of liberty, and that liberty in peace."

To his eldest daughter, Mr. Buxton wrote:

"It is curious how many compliments we West

Indian fanatics have had on the success of our measure. I have just been in the House; and among a great variety of congratulators, I saw ———, who said nothing could be doing better; and he added, that, having lately read my speeches from first to last, he must confess that he was surprised to find how true and sound they had been. Stanley whispered, 'I congratulate you.' I answered, 'I congratulate *you*.'

"But I now come from the House of Lords, where Lord Grey, in reply to the Duke of Wellington, has been pronouncing a splendid eulogium on 'that beneficent measure,' as it was called in the king's speech, 'which extirpated the worst of human evils.'"

Again he writes in his journal:

"April 13, 1834.

"My birth-day has just passed; though I did not minute down my thoughts, it did not pass unheeded. How ought I to exalt and thank my God for his mercy with regard to the slave question! On the 17th of March, Stanley, in answer to a question from me, gave a most highly encouraging account of the West Indies:—the whip abolished, the negroes more industrious, no disturbance, no murmur, no ruin to the planter.

"Three years ago, who dreamed of such a termination? What would I have given to secure

such good tidings, even one year ago, on the 19th of March, the day of my motion! Do I say more than the truth, when I say I would have given my life?"

* * * * * * *

"I have now been walking in the garden, and having an hour of earnest prayer. I was much affected by looking at the expanse of the skies—the moon—the masses of cloud. They gave me a more realizing view of Him who created them all, that wonderful Being, so great as to govern the universe, so merciful as to regard such a worm as I am, and to bear with my transgressions.

"Oh that I might always carry with me the same awful sense of his presence, and such a realization of his goodness!"

To promote the improvement of the emancipated slaves, by the establishment of schools, as well as by the instructions of Christian missionaries, was the next object to which Mr. Buxton's attention was turned. For this end he was constantly in communication with the colonial secretary, Mr. Stanley, and was at the same time interceding with various benevolent societies in their behalf.

"Among other schemes," says his biographer, "there was one of great importance, which at length succeeded. Some years before this time, Mr. Buxton had received information that a cer-

tain Lady Mico, who died in 1710, had left a sum of money to her daughter, on condition of her not marrying a certain individual, in which case it was to be devoted to the redemption of white slaves in Barbary. The daughter married, and lost the money, which accumulated till in 1827, (when no Christian slaves remained in Barbary,) it amounted to more than £110,000. 'This sum,' wrote Mr. Buxton to Mr. Macauley, 'Lushington thinks we shall be able to get applied in the right way, if you come by the Holt coach on Saturday.'

"At length, after much expense and trouble, the money was obtained, and invested in the names of Dr. Lushington, Mr. Buxton, and two or three other trustees, to be employed in the education of the negroes. To the interest of this sum, the government added a temporary grant of £20,000 per annum; and the proper and most efficient application of this money occupied much of Mr. Buxton's time and attention. He, as well as the other trustees, spared no labor in the endeavor to establish schools, and to procure schoolmasters of ability and piety."

The day on which the emancipation act was to take effect, was now drawing near. An address, written by Mr. Buxton in the name of an Anti-slavery Society, reveals his state of feeling with reference to this season.

"Surely a day of such vast moment to the welfare of one part of the empire, and to the honor of the whole, ought not to pass unnoticed..... It is a day for undoing the heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free; and the true celebration of such an event is in hearty and united thanksgiving to God for this marvelous achievement, and prayer that He will bless the work, bless the givers, bless the receivers, and make it a source of blessing to the oppressde and afflicted throughout the world.....

"Some may think that this great work was accomplished by the act of man; some will ascribe it to one body, and some to another; but we trust that our friends, now that the conflict of party has ceased, and the cloud raised around us by the passions of man has been dispersed, will unite in acknowledging the signal providence of Almighty God, who has, from the beginning to the end, been the true doer of this glorious work; originating it in the hearts of its advocates; lifting it over the all but insurmountable obstacles of its early day; setting at naught the counsels of friends and foes; providing means, providing instruments, unexpected, diverse, conflicting; yet, under the skillful guidance of the Divine hand, all urging forward the same conclusion; and from the chaos of confusion, from the battle of irreconcilable opinions, bringing us to the scarcely credible consummation

of emancipation in peace, in harmony, in safety, in congratulation and acquiescence on all sides."

With reference to the same approaching day, he wrote in his book of meditations:

"July 27, Sunday.

"On Friday next, slavery is to cease throughout the British colonies! I wished, therefore, to have a season of deep retirement of soul, of earnest prayer, and of close communion with my God; and for this purpose I went to a Friends' meeting. I began with earnest prayer for the influence of the Holy Spirit. Then, in deep humiliation, in a sense of my great guilt and ingratitude, I made confession of such sins as occurred to me, and pleaded hard with God, for Christ's sake, in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins! This prayer was offered in some trouble of soul, and in a full sense that every other cord was broken, and that the only cable by which I could hold on was forgiveness through Christ. Then I prayed for the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit on those seven hundred thousand oppressed children of our common Father, who will be liberated on that day.....As by thy goodness they are changed from slaves to freemen, may they also be transformed from heathens into Christians, in deed, in spirit, and in truth.

"And now I commend next Friday to thee, my

merciful God. May it be a happy day, and the harbinger of many happy days, to one very, very dear to me, and to multitudes for whom I have been favored long to labor!"

This last sentence refers to his eldest daughter, who had been, through the later years of this conflict, his most valued assistant. On the memorable day which gave freedom to the slave, she was married to Mr. Andrew Johnston, M. P. for St. Andrew's. In a letter to Dr. Philip of Cape Town, he thus referred to it again: "I surrendered my vocation, and, next to Macauley, my best human helper, on the same day; and I am not only well contented, but very happy, and very thankful that she is so bestowed."

The first of August was kept very generally throughout England, as a day of rejoicing. On the part of the friends of the slaves, of those who in the work of emancipation had borne the burden and heat of the day, it was one of earnest desire for the blessing of Heaven upon the newly freed African.

"Never had we," said Mr. Buxton, "such a call for thanksgiving, never such occasion to pray for a blessing, as upon the work of this day. It is demonstration to our understandings, it is vision to our minds, that God has done it. We had no might, neither knew we what to do. The battle

was not ours, but God's. The Lord has been with us."

Notwithstanding the festivities of the day, there were those who looked with intense anxiety as to the effect of the actual promulgation of freedom to the slaves. Immediate intelligence of what might at that very time be passing in the West Indies, was impossible; there was no alternative but patiently to wait for letters.

"On the 10th of September, Mr. Buxton received a large pile of letters, with colonial stamps upon them.....He took them, still sealed, in his hand, and walked out into the wood, desiring no witness but One, of the emotion and joy he experienced. He opened them; and deep indeed was his joy and gratitude to God, when he found that one letter after another was filled with accounts of the admirable conduct of the negroes on the great day of freedom. Throughout the colonies, the churches and chapels had been thrown open, and the slaves had crowded into them, on the evening of the 31st of July. As the hour of midnight approached, they fell upon their knees, and awaited the solemn moment, hushed in silent prayer. When twelve sounded from the chapel bells, they sprang upon their feet, and through every island rang the glad sound of thanksgiving to the Father

of all; for the chains were broken, and the slaves were free."

In October, Mr. Buxton wrote to Rev. Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta:

"The apprenticeship seems to go down with the negroes. This is wonderful to me; for I can not reconcile it even now to my reason, that this system should flourish. In Antigua, the legislature wisely dispensed with the apprenticeship, and from thence we have most encouraging reports.

"A letter, dated the 2d August, says, 'The day of wonders,—of anticipated confusion, riot, and bloodshed—has passed by, and all is peace and order! On Monday, the negroes all returned to work.'....During four days' examination before the Lords, they asked me, among a thousand strange questions, 'If emancipation were to take place to-day, what would the negroes do to-morrow?' I replied, 'To-morrow they would, I think, take a holiday; so they would on Saturday; on Monday, I expect they would go to work, if you paid them for it!'"

The next month, he records the results of the experiment in Antigua, the only island where the boon of freedom had been entire. The facts recorded were received from the Bishop of Barbadoes:

"First. Wives and husbands hitherto living on different estates, began to live together.

"Second. The number of marriages greatly increased. One of his clergy had married ten couple a week, since the first of August.

"Third. The schools greatly increased; a hundred children were added in one district.

"Fourth. The planters complain that their whole weeding gang, [children,] instead of going to work, go to school.

"Fifth. All the young women cease to work in the fields, and are learning female employments.

"Sixth. Friendly societies for mutual relief have increased.

"Seventh. The work of the clergyman is doubled. One of the chapels which held three hundred is being enlarged, so as to contain nine hundred, and still will not be large enough."

CHAPTER XVI.

1835—1838.

South Africa.—Dr. Philip.—Letter of Mr. Johnston.—Irish reform.—Mr. Buxton at home.—Letters.—Retirement.—Abolition of West India apprenticeship.

THE work of West India emancipation was hardly completed, when the attention of its foremost advocate was turned into a channel of effort, which, though changed, was not altogether dissimilar. The condition of a portion of the inhabitants of South Africa has already been mentioned in a former chapter. Concerning these, Mr. Buxton wrote at this time, "The greatest of their misfortunes is, that they have ever become acquainted with Christians."

On the first of July, 1834, he moved an address to the king on this subject. This motion was passed unanimously. It prayed that "His Majesty would be graciously pleased to take such measures, as to secure to the natives the due observance of justice, and the protection of their rights, promote the spread of civilization among them, and lead

them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion."

Soon after this, the accounts of the war between the colonists and the Caffres, in which the latter were overthrown, became the prominent topic in this connection. The official dispatches from that country announced as follows:

"Four thousand warriors have been slaughtered; 60,000 head of cattle, and almost all their goats captured; their country (now called the Adelaide territory) is taken from them; their habitations are every where destroyed, and their gardens and corn fields laid waste."

A Parliamentary Committee was appointed, through Mr. Buxton's efforts, to inquire into this war, as well as into the general treatment of these aborigines, in the vicinity of English settlements.

Mr. Buxton wrote at this time, in a letter:

"I gave our new Colonial Secretary a disquisition to my heart's content, on the treatment of savages, the death of Hintza, the atrocities of white men, and above all, on the responsibilities of a Secretary of State."

To his old friend, Mr. Macauley, he wrote:

"I am deeply interested about the savages, and particularly the Caffres. Oh! we Englishmen are, by our own account, fine fellows at home. Who among us doubts that we surpass the world in reli-

gion, justice, knowledge, refinement, and practical honesty? But such a set of miscreants and wolves as we prove, when we escape from the range of the laws, the earth does not contain."

The investigations concerning this war resulted in the restoration to the Caffres of the land which had been wrested from them; and Mr. Buxton wrote concerning this, that the government had now been "laying down the soundest principles with respect to future intercourse with them."

In 1836, Dr. Philip visited England, bringing with him, to be examined by the Aborigines' Committee, Tzatzoe, a Caffre chief, and Andrew Stoffles, a Hottentot. Mr. Buxton invited them to his house. The following describes this interview:

"Dr. Philip dined here yesterday, with his two African proteges, Tzatzoe and Stoffles, Mr. Read and his half Caffre son being also of the party. Tzatzoe was dressed in fanciful English attire, with a gold-laced coat, something like a naval officer. He is rather a fine-looking, well-made man, but his hair is like a carpet. Both he and Stoffles behaved in a perfectly refined and gentlemanly manner. James Read acted as interpreter; he looks more like a Caffre than an Englishman; he is full of animation, and very clever and observing. He sat by Tzatzoe at dinner, and kept up the conversation capitally. Tzatzoe was asked what struck him most in Eng-

land? He said, 'First, the peace, no fighting, all looking kind. Secondly, no beggars; every body had their own business, and wanted nothing of other men, but all looked comfortable and happy; thirdly, no drunkards, no fighting about the streets.'

"He was then asked what he could mention to our discredit.—He hesitated at first, but then boldly said, that we abused our Sabbaths; he was shocked to see the carriages about, and people selling in the streets; he admired the horses, but could not think what the donkeys had done, to merit such different treatment; and as to the dogs, he thought it a most wicked thing 'to make them work like Hottentots.'

"He pleased my father much, by saying, that if it had not been for his labors in the committee, his nation would have been entirely extirpated. He told us, so great was the gratitude felt toward him, that in most of the Christian settlements about the Kat river, they held a regular meeting every Wednesday evening, to pray for Mr. Buxton, Dr. Philip, and Mr. Fairbairn.

"When Tzatzoe spoke in Caffre, Stoffles translated it into Dutch for Mr. Read. Doing this gradually roused up Stoffles himself, and now when we applied to him on the subject of infant schools, he lighted up in a most extraordinary way, his heavy face beamed with life and pleasure, and he was all

all action and animation. Dr. Philip says, that in oratory, he is quite the Lord Brougham of his country.....

"After dinner, they sang to us: first, the three together, a hymn in Dutch; then Tzatzoe and Read in Caffre, and then Stoffles alone sang a war-song in Hottentot. It had a most extraordinary effect.

"Ices then came round. The poor fellows had seen none before, and the grimaces made at the first mouthful were not to be told. They could not eat more, but laughed heartily.

"When they were about to go away, they commanded silence, and Stoffles rose formally, with Read to interpret, and made a very good speech, returning thanks to his host. 'I thank God,' he said, 'that my life has been spared long enough to come to England, and that Mr. Buxton's life has been spared long enough also for me to see him. I have long desired nothing so much, but never thought I should have that happiness. I hope Mr. Buxton will live much longer, and continue to help the oppressed, and that he will never cease to hold his hand over my nation.' He thanked him heartily, on behalf of all the Hottentots, for his labors for them.

"Tzatzoe then rose and made a similar speech, expressing himself most warmly.

"My father then thanked them for their good

wishes, and said he hoped their nation would go on improving, and especially that religion would increase among them, that they would be firm to their God and Saviour, for that was the only path to peace, to happiness, to heaven."

On January 1st, 1836, Mr. Buxton thus noted down his reflections on the closing of one year and the beginning of another:

"What mercies has the past year produced, and what events may the next unfold! My prayer at the beginning of 1835 was for myself, that I might give God my heart; that in matters public and private, he would instruct me in the right way.....

"I thank thee, O Lord, that I know there is no other source of profit to my own soul, or of usefulness to others, save through Christ. If I abide in him, I shall be enabled to bring forth rich clusters of heavenly fruit; if not, a withered and unprofitable branch am I. Grant, then, O Father, to thy weak, poor, most unworthy servant, that I may be a true servant of the Lord; that I may belong to him, and may be made useful through the fructifying influence of his Spirit; that that Spirit may carry with it the whole man to his blessed service; that it being my ruler and guide, I may be enabled to do something this year for the negro race,—something toward relieving them from the remnants of their cruel bondage,—especially something for

their souls; and may large flocks be brought into thy fold. May I this year do something toward the further abolition of the slave trade, and something for the natives of our colonies."

The mention of the slave trade at the close of the foregoing entry, has reference to it as conducted by foreign nations. Even while the question of West India emancipation was pending, his thoughts had been much upon this aspect of slavery. The year which followed that of the freedom of the slaves in the British colonies, was marked by an effort against the trade in general, moving in Parliament for an address suggesting "the consolidation of all the treaties hitherto made on this subject with various powers into one great league," by which the trade in slaves should be declared to be piracy, and treated as such.

All that was desired could not be accomplished; but the subject never ceased to occupy his thoughts, and to occasion continual solicitude.

At the present time, (1836,) it became necessary to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship system. For this purpose, he moved a committee on the 22d of March. He brought forward at this time a mass of facts, proving on the one hand, that under this system "the negroes had behaved extremely well, and on the other, that they had been harassed by vexatious by-laws, and cruel punish-

ments." "This is my case," said he in conclusion; "it shows at least this: that if the planters have misconducted themselves, they can find no excuse in the conduct of the negroes. There has been no disappointment in that quarter."

The result of this discussion was a pledge from the government, that "after 1840, the negroes were to have *unqualified freedom;* and to be subject to no restrictions, other than those imposed upon white laborers at home."

Mr. Buxton's friends were anxious at this time, that he should not, with his broken health, be exposed to the fatigues of another Parliament. But he was still so occupied with these affairs, as to be unwilling to quit his post. In reply to a pressing letter on this subject from his uncle, Mr. Charles Buxton, he says:

"At present I am remarkably well.....I have received very encouraging accounts of the negroes. Can I, as an honest man, retire now, when I know for a certainty, that the effect of my motion last year and the year before was to save the backs of thousands of these poor fellows from unmerciful floggings.

"You may say what you please; I know it is all in kindness for me, but I also know, that if you were in my place, no personal consideration would

be sufficient to prevail on you to abandon your duty."

The following portraiture of Mr. Buxton carries the reader back a few years, to the earlier efforts for emancipation. It is from the pen of his son-in-law, Andrew Johnston, Esq.

"I had," said Mr. Johnston, "been well acquainted with Mr. Buxton's name, and had watched his proceedings with interest, before I entered Parliament in 1831. Shortly after I took my seat, I introduced myself to him, as one who aimed at being enlisted under his anti-slavery banner, and before long, I was honored with that friendship which I ever felt I could not sufficiently prize. I was soon strongly impressed by seeing his almost exclusive devotedness to the object he had in hand at any given time; he spared no pains to achieve his purpose; he was constantly on the watch, and by his tact and perseverance, frequently succeeded in obtaining documents which would otherwise have remained in obscurity.....

"He was very often at the Foreign Office, and at the Colonial Office he was, during the sitting of Parliament, almost a daily visitor. Though his proceedings called forth bitter opposition from some quarters, and though the government generally resisted his proposals, at least for a time, I soon saw that his honesty and singleness of purpose his

manly understanding, and the weight of his character, commanded a decided and increasing influence in Downing street. He was thoroughly liked and respected in the House, and his constant urbanity and kind feeling ought to have disarmed his bitterest opponents, more than it seemed to do. His firmness was sometimes exposed to great trials. I remember, in particular, the debate of May, 1832, when the government, unwilling to oppose his resolutions directly, endeavored to neutralize their effect by a 'rider.' He was earnestly entreated, by a great many members, to consent to this without dividing the House; but strong in his conviction of what was right, he resisted them all. I sat by him through the whole of that anxious evening, and was astonished at the firmness which he displayed. He obtained a large minority, but many of those who voted in it were very angry for placing them in opposition to the ministry.

"This debate led to the appointment of a committee, on which I was one of Mr. Buxton's nominees, as well as on those which were subsequently appointed at his instance, on the state of the aborigines connected with our colonies, and on the working of the apprenticeship in the West Indies. These cost him many toilsome hours. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the perseverance with which he pursued his inquiries, or the zeal with which he

endeavored to elicit truth. His energy never flagged, nor do I remember his ever losing temper, in the fatigues and annoyances of these labors.....

"For some years, Mr. Buxton and myself were associated with a select band of members of Parliament, who, though of varied and opposite political opinions, met on every 'House night,' for a short period, to enjoy confidential intercourse, on the one subject on which all were agreed.

"Reading from Scripture and prayer were the leading objects for which we were assembled. Mr. Buxton was one of the most constant attendants, and very often 'the chaplain.' Nor can I doubt that these meetings greatly strengthened and sustained him, under the fierce opposition with which he was too often assailed."

That his strength to combat with evil was continually drawn from a spring that was divine, is manifest from his journalizings and memoranda. At the beginning of the present year, his petitions with regard to the various public objects in which he was engaged, have been noticed. These petitions were followed thus:

"This year I shall have numbered half a century. It is a subject of deep meditation, where shall I be at the end of the next half century?

"Through mercy, through love unbounded, through Christ, I trust that I shall be with Christ

in his kingdom. Walk thou with me, O Lord; tutor me to thy will; be my wisdom, my guard, my guide, in every hour of this year, for Christ's sake."

On removing from Northrepps, in February, 1836, to London, to engage in the duties of the coming session, the following were noted down as hints for family prayers:

"Be Thou the mover of every work in which we engage.

"The counselor, to teach us what to say and do.

"The source of strength, confidence, comfort.

"May we labor, not with eye-service, but in singleness of heart.

"Bless those rising from bondage, and all efforts on their behalf; the heathen, suffering from the evils and oppression of men, calling themselves Christians; and may a choice blessing rest on the efforts made for their physical advantage, and religious advancement."

It was during this session that Mr. Buxton gave much attention to Irish affairs, to the subject of reform in the Protestant church in Ireland, and also to education among her people. Advocating strongly for this nation a system of schools, in which as much of the Bible should be read as the Catholics would admit, he says:

"Do I say that this is enough? No! I lament

that Scripture is thus sparingly doled out.....But though this system does not do all, it does much. It teaches the Catholic to read,—it gives him a portion of Scripture to read. I have better faith," he added, "in the truth of my religion, than to dread that instruction can damage it."

"How has it been," he asked, "that truth itself, backed by a Protestant king, a Protestant parliament,—that truth itself, so far from advancing, has not kept her ground against error? My solution of the question is, that we have resorted to force where reason alone could prevail. We have forgotten, that though the sword may do its work,—mow down armies, and subdue nations—it can not carry conviction to the understanding of men; nay, the very use of force tends to create a barrier to the reception of that truth, which it intends to promote. We have forgotten that there is something in the human breast—no base or sordid feeling, the same that makes a generous mind cleave with double affection to a distressed and injured friend, and which makes men cleave with tenfold fondness—deaf to reason, deaf to remonstrance, reckless of interest, prodigal of life—to a persecuted religion.....

"Happy had it been for the Protestant Church, had we dared to present our truth to the Irish, not in arms, not in pomp, not decorated with the symbols

of an earthly power, but in that lowliness and gentleness which naturally belong to it."

When the parliamentary season was ended, Mr. Buxton was accustomed to recruit his exhausted strength by retirement to the country. Of these periods, his biographer thus speaks:

"Every year seemed to increase his delight at leaving behind him the cares and turmoils of London.

"His system, on coming into the country, was, after a thorough arrangement of his personal affairs, to abandon the first few weeks to the relaxation of field sports. Toward the end of October, when Mr. Hoare usually left Norfolk, Mr. Buxton resumed his settled occupations, and was strict in devoting to them the best hours of the day. He thus adapted to himself the well-known lines of Sir William Jones:

> 'Secure six hours for thought, and one for prayer,
> Four in the field for exercise and air,
> The rest let converse, sleep, and business share.'

"Six hours may appear a large proportion of his day to give to reflection, but his singular power of sustained and concentrated thought was unquestionably the most remarkable feature of his mind. Not, indeed, that he had a turn for meditation on speculative or philosophical questions; but when (as very often happened) his decision was required upon

practical questions of an intricate character, he would wrap his mind in reflection upon them, with an intensity not often equaled. He could not, like some, take a question by storm, and in a moment put every doubt to flight; he seemed to give every difficulty its fullest weight, and to balance the arguments on the one side against the arguments on the other, with accurate care; giving them such close attention, that whatever might be going on around him, his mind could scarcely be diverted by any thing from its track. When going to London with various important matters on his hands, he would often take a list of them with him, and going regularly through it, would clench his mind upon them one after the other, till by dint of strenuous thought, he had mastered their bearings and made up his mind for ever. Once decided, he seldom turned to the question again. His character may be said to have been formed of a 'durable material,' so that an impression once effectually made, seemed never to be obliterated, scarcely even to lose the sharpness of its edge, by the lapse of years."

In illustration of this feature of character, when applied to smaller matters, the writer records that in early life Mr. Buxton had allowed himself to be "unpunctual at church;" but on listening to a sermon on the duty of being present at the beginning of the service, he mentioned the circumstance, af-

ter the lapse of thirty years, remarking that he had never since, through carelessness, been late at public worship.

A striking instance of this characteristic, exerting itself on a small scale, is seen in the following. A sudden and entire change in one's daily habits with regard to *order*, bringing at once, out of confusion, a system of precise arrangement, and adhering to it, to the end of life, is not a matter of every day occurrence. The writer proceeds with his detail:

"The love of order, and power to maintain it, had certainly not been given him by nature; for many busy years of his life, his study, wherever it might happen to be, seemed a chaos of confusion, crowded with heaps of books and papers, letters and documents, unsorted and unlabeled; nor would he allow any one to touch them. But in the year 1827 he was vividly impressed by a casual view of the order and precision maintained in one of the government offices. After the illness of that year, when he could not bear mental application, a favorable opportunity presented itself for carrying out his resolution of having his 'papers in subjection.' For three weeks he devoted himself, with his domestic helpers, to this task; every document in his possession, public and private, was looked over, folded to a certain size, with its contents accurately

indorsed upon it, and then classified. The parcels of papers were tied up in boards made to the same size, legibly marked; the more copious subjects, such as slavery, filling many of these packets, under different sub-divisions. Pigeon holes in his book-cases, and other expedients were provided, by which these packets were so placed as to be instantly accessible. The work once accomplished, he never relaxed in it again; from this time to the end of his life, every paper that came into his hands was subjected to the same regulations, and his various secretaries will remember the playful but unremitting strictness, with which he required the execution of his plans in this respect."

Of Mr. Buxton's home life, we have already presented some details in a former chapter; but to so pleasant a picture we again return. In this sphere, at once "domestic, social, hospitable," there were various attractions for the guests, and amusements for the younger part of the circle.

"Reading," says the biographer, "filled up every leisure hour. Mr. Buxton never tired of listening to it. 'Well, what shall we read?' was his first question on entering the drawing-room, and he always paid the closest attention, being always able to repeat the words that terminated the passage read on the previous evening. He had a great taste for biography, perhaps still more for works of

humor. His love of poetry has been alluded to before, and he endeavored to cultivate the same taste in those about him. Every Sunday evening, his children were expected to repeat a passage of poetry, and he always required the utmost fluency and accuracy in the repetition; he insisted, also, on the reciter looking him full in the face while going on with the task. He distributed his rewards with his usual open-handed generosity.....His frequent quotations showed how thoroughly his mind was imbued with the writings of the principal English poets.....

"When tea was finished, he usually walked into his study, and returned after a time with any letters or papers connected with his undertakings that he might have received during the day, and the reading of these, with the discussions upon them, which he encouraged, usually occupied the remainder of the evening. In all missionary enterprises he took the liveliest interest, listening with avidity to intelligence of their progress. Many private communications of this nature were also made to him; especially from Africa and the West Indies. He annually made himself complete master of the affairs and proceedings of the Bible Society, his fidelity to which never wavered.....'I am ready to confess,' he once wrote, 'that there is no cause, not even

Emancipation itself, to which I would more readily lend a helping hand, than to the Bible Society.'....

"In the London City Mission he took an active part from the beginning, contributing generously to its funds, and giving to it his personal influence.

"His family were early trained to take an interest in his pursuits, and to share his hopes and fears; he encouraged the remarks and criticisms even of its younger members, and would accept from them the most trivial assistance. Indeed, he seemed to have a strong feeling of personal gratitude to any one who would share his solicitude for his 'black clients.'

"Returning after an absence," says one, "never, I think, was such a welcome seen on any human face." And again it is added, "his papers bear witness to his unremitting, untiring 'labors in prayer' for the members of his family; they are individually mentioned on every occasion, with discriminating affection; and striking indeed was the solemnity and the fervor with which he poured out his supplications."

"I can not help being struck," writes one of his sons, a boy at the time of writing, "with the exquisite tenderness of heart which my father always displays; his unwillingness to debar us from pleasure, the zeal with which he will make any sacrifice, or take any trouble to gratify us, is most surprising.

....His whole appearance, with his worn, thoughtful face, is so much that of a man whom one would approach with some sensations of awe, that these small, though exquisite acts of tenderness, are the more unexpected, and therefore the more pleasing."

Occasionally, though rarely, Mr. Buxton used the language of direct admonition. The following was addressed to one of his sons on entering college:

"It is always a disappointment to me to be absent when my boys are at home, but I particularly regretted being away last week. I need not, I hope, tell you of the extreme interest I take in the launch of your little skiff on the ocean of life, and how ardently I desire that 'soft airs and gentle heavings of the wave' may accompany your voyage; and that you may be safely piloted into the serene and lovely harbor prepared by the love of God.

"It is not often that I trouble my children with advice, and never, I believe, unless I have something particular to say. At the present time, I think I have that to say which is deeply important to the success of your business in life; nay, its effects may extend beyond the grave. You are now a man, and I am persuaded that you must be prepared to hold a very inferior station in life, to that which you might fill, unless you resolve, with God's

help, that whatever you do, you will do it *well;* unless you make up your mind, that it is better to accomplish perfectly a very small amount of work, than to half do ten times as much. What you do know, know thoroughly. There are few instances in modern times, of a rise equal to that of Sir Edward Sudgen. After one of the Weymouth elections, I was shut up in a carriage with him for twenty-four hours. I ventured to ask him what was the secret of his success; his answer was, 'I resolved, when beginning to read law, to make every thing I acquired perfectly my own, and never to go to a second thing, till I had entirely accomplished the first. Many of my competitors read as much in a day as I read in a week; but at the end of twelve months, my knowledge was as fresh as on the day it was acquired, while theirs had glided away from their recollection.'

"Let the same masculine determination to act to some purpose, go through your life. Do the day's work to-day. At college, I was extremely intimate with two young men, both of extraordinary talents. The one was always ahead of his tutor; he was doing this year, the work of next year, and although upon many parts of the subject he knew more than his examiner, yet he contrived to answer what was actually proposed to him most scandalously; while the other, by knowing perfectly what it was his bu-

siness to know, (though not confining himself to that,) never, to the best of my recollection, failed to answer any question that was put to him.

"Again, be punctual. I do not mean the merely being in time for lectures, etc.; but I mean that spirit out of which punctuality grows,—that love of accuracy, precision, and vigor, which makes the efficient man; the determination that what you have to do shall be done in spite of all petty obstacles, and finished off, at once and finally.....

"How often have I seen persons, who would have done well, if they would but have acted up to their sense of duty! Thankful I am to believe that conscience is the established ruler over your actions; but I want to enlarge its province, and to make it condescend to those which may appear to you minor matters. Have a conscience to be fitting yourself for life, in whatever you do, and in the management of your mind and powers. In scripture phrase, 'Gird up the loins of your mind.'

"The punctuality which I desire for you involves and comprehends the exact arrangement of your time. It is a matter on which much depends; fix how much time you will spend upon each object, and adhere, all but obstinately, to your plan. 'Method,' says Cecil, 'is like packing things in a box; a good packer will get in twice as much as a bad one.'....If you mean to be the effective man,

you must set about it earnestly, and at once. No man ever yet 'yawned it into being with a wish;' you must make arrangements for it; you must watch it; you must notice it when you fail; and you must keep some kind of a journal of your failures.

"But whatever negligence may creep into your studies, or your pursuits of pleasure or of business, let there be one point, at least, on which you are always watchful, always alive: I mean the performance of your religious duties. Let nothing induce you, even for a day, to neglect the perusal of Scripture. You know the value of prayer; it is precious above all price. Never, never neglect it."

Mr. Buxton's habitual solicitude for the religious interests of those connected with him, finds illustration in the following. It was addressed to one advanced in life, and to whom an appeal so personal would hardly have been made, unless called for by the strongest sense of duty.

"I am persuaded that you will forgive me for saying what has been upon my mind for some time. I have very much wished to have some conversation with you on religious subjects, but from various causes, chiefly perhaps my own want of courage, I have hitherto left you without unburdening my mind of the few things I wished to say. As you were, however, so kind as to say that the hint

I dropped was not lost upon you, and that you had of late read through the New Testament more than once, I must venture to add something to that hint.

"I trust, then, that the great and capital truth of Christianity is always before your mind, namely, that there is salvation in no other way than through the atonement of Christ. The whole New Testament is a declaration that in ourselves we are sinful, and deserving nothing but condemnation; but that the Son of God bore the punishment of our offenses, and that, by his merits, those who believe on him are delivered. Faith, then, in Christ, is all in all. With it, however guilty we may have been, we shall be safe; and without it, no virtue, no moral excellence, nothing in the shape of meritorious works will suffice. You will find the New Testament full of these two simple but all-important doctrines, namely, our sinfulness, and salvation through Christ; and he who knows these, knows almost all that is essential. But then, those only who believe in Christ shall have the benefit of the pardon and reconciliation which he came from heaven to obtain for us.....

"Faith in Christ, then, as the Son of God, and as delivering us from our sins, being essential, how is it to be acquired? It is to be obtained only through the influence of the Holy Spirit; and it is said, over and over again, that if we pray for the

Holy Spirit, it will be given us; that is the promise, Luke 9 : 13. Then comes the point which I venture to urge, prayer to God for the Holy Spirit to teach us all the truths essential to our salvation; to reveal Christ to our understandings, to impart to us that holiness which is required of his disciples, to give us true repentance, and to prepare us for the day of judgment. I am persuaded you will forgive me for thus unburdening my mind."

The following letter was written to Mr. J. J. Gurney, who was about to proceed to America, on a religious visit to the Society of Friends:

"I think it is hardly possible for one, at least of our harder sex, to feel more than I do, in all that concerns your going to America. We have been bound together, by not far short of forty years, in one cloudless friendship. As boy and man, I have been partner in all your fortunes, and you in mine. I do not believe you ever, by word or deed, gave me a momentary vexation. You, I dare say, are not aware how you have refreshed and encouraged me in my career; in truth, I look to you with almost boundless affection and gratitude. It is against the grain with me to let you go without seeing you again, but I fear it must be so. After much deliberation, I have resolved to go down to Weymouth. The way in which Parliament affects my health, has had great weight in the one scale, but in the

other, there are three great points: West India negroes, East India slavery, and the Brazilian slave trade. If it were the West India negroes alone, I believe I should retire, because nine-tenths of the work is done, and because there is feeling enough in the country to accomplish the remainder, and persons enough, willing and able to call forth that feeling. I am steadfast in the belief, that that great experiment has been, and will continue to be, crowned with more complete success than the most sanguine among us anticipated. I know very well that evil influences are working against it, and that thousands of the negroes are exposed to cruel injustice. Nevertheless, I do rejoice, and will rejoice in the extinction of slavery; and the more I see of the posthumous brood, the more I rejoice in the death of the old parent dragon.

"And now, my dear brother, if I do not see you before your departure I take leave of you with a heart full of love, with the most pleasant and grateful remembrance of you, and with the most earnest prayers for your safety, comfort, and peace, for the full success of your mission, and for your fruition of all that is contained in these words: 'Fear thou not, for I am thy God. I will strengthen thee, yea, I will help thee, yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.'"

At the election which was pending at Weymouth,

matters took a new aspect, of which he wrote to Mrs. Buxton:

"This day will, I trust, make an entire revolution in my vocation.....Before it closes, I shall be a man of leisure; that is no mean blessing; a man, not slaving himself to death, but with time to walk, to read, to sleep, to reflect, and better still, to pray."

"One o'clock. Well, my dearest wife, your wishes are realized.....The troubles and worries of Parliament are over with me.....I am perfectly well satisfied with the result, and view it as a release from a vast deal of labor."

To his closing parliamentary labors, he alludes in a letter to Mr. J. J. Gurney in America:

"You know, I believe, that a few days before the session closed, I presented our report on the Aborigines. It is a fair compendium of the evidence given before the committee during three years, and as I had but a small portion of the merit of drawing it up, I may be allowed to call it an admirable document; and I have little doubt that it will go far to check that deep, desperate and widespread villainy, which has rendered the intercourse of the civilized and Christian man with the savage, little else than one uniform system of cruelty, rapacity, and murder. In short, I am well satisfied, and have little more to say on that subject. Two

or three days before the session closed, I brought before the House, briefly, the questions of the slave trade, East India slavery, and the transportation of Coolies from India to the Mauritius and the West Indies.

"On Monday, the Queen dissolved the Parliament. Before her messenger gave his three taps at our door, I gave notice of a motion on East India slavery, for the next session. We were then called before her Majesty. She looked well, and quite composed; in delivering her speech, her voice was sweet and clear, almost to perfection. In that great room, with the multitude of people, and some bustle, every syllable was so distinctly articulated, as to be perfectly heard; and her voice rose into suitable emphasis, when she said that her reign was auspiciously begun by giving her assent to *the mitigation of the Criminal Law*."

The amelioration of the Criminal Code, it will be remembered, was the first object taken up by Mr. Buxton on his entrance into Parliament, twenty years before this time. That he sincerely valued the liberty which he had gained in leaving the duties of public life, is evident from the fact, that from twenty-seven different sources, he declined solicitations again to stand a candidate for Parliament.

After a visit to Portland, Mr. Buxton was again

in London, for a short time. The following was addressed to Mrs. Johnston, after his return:

"Our return home was vastly pleasant, and I hope we feel something of true thankfulness at being permitted to reassemble, none missing, none injured, and many benefited..... My week in London was any thing but idle. I got through my fifty-six memoranda. We resolved that Mr. Trew should, without delay, provide thirty-four first rate teachers for the colonies. Only think of sending forth such a troop! Is it not cheering? While I was in London, three separate deputations called upon me on the same morning, to urge me to go to Parliament. They were very philosophic on the subject of health, and said, *in substance*, that it was good economy for them to work me up now, and when I was fairly dead, they dared to say they should find some other agent! But I was steadfast against this kind of argument."

The subject of negro apprenticeship was now receiving an increased share of public attention. Contradictory reports concerning the manner in which the system was actually working, vexed the public mind. A visit to the West Indies, for the purpose of ascertaining the real state of things, was projected by Mr. Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, who as an uncompromising friend of emancipation,

could be relied upon, that nothing connected with the interests of the negroes would be overlooked.

The publication of his journal, after his return to England, in connection with his fellow-voyager, Mr. Scoble, communicated the state of affairs occasioned by the apprenticeship in the West Indies. It had become evident that in too many instances, under the working of this system, cruelty and wrong had been inflicted. Efforts were now being made, to overthrow it altogether, and anticipate for the negroes the unqualified freedom, which, in no long time, they were to receive. Mr. Buxton had esteemed it a great victory won, when Parliament decreed that "the full and entire liberty of a British subject" should, in 1840, be granted to every inhabitant of the colonies. The attempt to overthrow the apprenticeship during the intervening two years, he regarded as fruitless. In March of this year, however, he wrote to one of his old anti-slavery friends:

"It seems just possible that the delegates may succeed, and if so, I am sure we shall both say, 'Thank God that other people had more courage and more discernment than ourselves.'"

Afterward, he came into full sympathy and coöperation with those who sought that the apprenticeship should cease at once. The matter was brought before Parliament, and after some conflict of opin-

ion and feeling, the whole system was abolished, the planters to surrender it on the first of August, 1838. Mr. Buxton at this time wrote to Mr. Sturge:

"I bless God for the event; I bless God, that He, who has always raised up agents such as the crisis required, sent you to the West Indies. I bless God, that, during the apprenticeship, not one act of violence against the person of a white man has, as I believe, been perpetrated by a negro; and I can not express my grateful exultation that those, whom the colonial laws so lately reckoned as brute beasts, 'the fee simple absolute whereof resided in their owners,' will so soon be invested with the full rights of man.....Let none of us forget, that those who are emancipated will be assailed with many an attempt to curb and crush their liberty; nor that two millions of human chattels in the East Indies require our protection; nor that the slave trade, of all evils the monster evil, still defiles and darkens one quarter of the globe."

CHAPTER XVII.

1838, 1839.

New plan for the suppression of the Slave Trade.—Resources of Africa.—The "Niger Expedition."

We come now, in the progress of this narrative, to a succession of events which, in their nature and results, are perhaps more momentous than any which we have yet recorded. Mr. Buxton's anticipation of a season of retirement and leisure was never fulfilled. His freedom from parliamentary duties, in fact, only opened the way for the realization of an idea, which, even before his retirement, held a place in his mind. Concerning this, one of his sons writes:

"While my father and I were staying at Earlham, in the beginning of the summer of 1837, he walked into my room one morning at an early hour, and sitting down by my bedside, told me that he had been lying awake the whole night, reflecting on the subject of the Slave Trade, and that he believed he had hit upon the true remedy for that portentous evil."

Two years before this Mr. Buxton had advocated in Parliament, that by stringent treaties with foreign powers, and the due punishment of the unlawful trade, the full benefit of the advantages won by Wilberforce should be secured; but now he comes upon another ground, namely, "The deliverance of Africa is to be effected *by calling out her own resources.*"

"Nor," proceeds his biographer, "was there less of the same ardent and exclusive devotion to the one work before him, which had characterized his earlier years. Having struck out the idea, it did not slowly fade away again, like the visions of less effective men. Nor was he content merely to lay his views before the public, satisfying himself with a vague hope that some one else would carry them into practice. He at once applied himself to the subject, and, throughout the winter, he was incessantly revolving it in his mind, reading every book that could assist him, and inquiring wherever information could be gained, until at length the whole idea was fully developed in his mind."

To a friend, he wrote:

"My principal occupation is the slave trade. I am quite convinced we are all on the wrong tack about it, and that we never shall do good, or at least effectual good, by pursuing only our present plan. The scheme, therefore, that I am now med-

itating, is to represent to all powers the immense field for commerce which is closed by the slave trade."

To bring the subject before the government, was now the aim of his efforts. To this end a pamphlet was prepared, entitled "Letter to Lord Melbourne," and was intended, not for general publication, but for the private perusal of men in power. Only twenty copies were printed, and as soon as this was accomplished, Mr. Buxton proceeded personally to the work of distribution among those for whom it was intended. "I have got," he writes to his sister at Northrepps Cottage, "a specific promise from each, that, without delay, they will read, consider, and decide." Then follows a list of those on whom he has called, beginning with Lord Melbourne, and ending with his friend, Sir George Stephen.

"The last," he continues, "sent me word that he was very busy, so our interview must be very short. I walked into his room, put the book into his hand, and without saying a word, walked out again.

"'What does this mean?' he called out.

"'The shortest interview you ever had with any body,' was the reply.

"'Ah,' said he 'the head is short enough, but there 's a terribly long tail to it!'"

The letter to Lord Melbourne was followed by a book, adapted to a more general circulation. This was called "The Slave Trade and its Remedy," and as its name suggests, its object was two-fold, setting forth, first, the actual state of the trade, and then the means of its extinction. With regard to the first part, he wrote as follows to J. J. Gurney:

"Last November, I started on a pilgrimage through all the books and parliamentary documents connected with the slave trade. I began from the very beginning, and, partly in person, still more by deputy, I traversed the whole subject; and such a scene of diabolism, and such an excess of misery, as I have had to survey, never, I am persuaded, before fell to the lot of an unhappy investigator. Will you believe it, that the slave trade, though England has relinquished it, is now double what it was when Wilberforce first began?.... Will you believe it, again, that it requires at the rate of a thousand human beings per diem, in order to satisfy its enormous maw?"

Among other startling facts, it was shown by official evidence, that at that time the number of slaves annually imported into Brazil and Cuba alone, amounted to 150,000, and this taking the very lowest estimate. With regard to the sufferings and waste of life, among the victims of the slave ship, the writer exclaims, "In what other spe-

cies of merchandise is there such a waste of the raw material, as in the merchandise of man? In what other trade do two-thirds of the goods perish, in order that one-third may reach the market?"

To spread out before his readers the remedy for all this evil, was the more pleasant task.

"The real remedy, the true ransom for Africa will be found," says Mr. Buxton, "in her fertile soil." He then proceeds to exhibit, from a vast variety of authorities, statments going to prove the almost boundless resources of Africa. Vast regions of that continent were proved to be of the most fertile description, capable of producing rice, wheat, hemp, indigo, coffee, etc. Above all, the sugar-cane and cotton-plant would reward, in any quantities, the toils of the cultivator. The forests of the country were shown to abound in the choicest of timber, — mahogany, ebony, dye-woods, the oil-palm, and furnishing caoutchouc, and other valuable gums. Also certain regions abounded in gold, copper, and iron. The eagerness of the natives for traffic was dwelt upon, as well as the facilities afforded by the commercial advantages of the country. The great rivers of western Africa, the Niger, the Tchadda, etc., the former having been already explored by Lander to a distance of four hundred miles from the sea, afforded an easy entrance to the interior of the country. The town of

Fernando Po was especially pointed out, as possessing, in its locality, a fitness for becoming an emporium of commerce.

By the encouragement of agriculture and lawful trade, turning these natural advantages to the highest possible account, the traffic in human beings was to be displaced. Well pleased was the writer to find, that in some instances his theory was already verified. Wherever security could be obtained from the visits of the slaver, there existed here and there on the western coast, small districts, where a lawful trade had taken the place of the traffic in slaves.

In the collection of facts, Mr. Buxton always sought, as far as possible, for impartial witnesses, and now he gathered testimony from writers most conversant with Africa,—from the governors of English colonies in that country, from travelers who had explored those regions, from African merchants, and from scientific men who had studied the subject at home.

Equally earnest was the advocate of this plan, for introducing that Christian instruction, which should elevate the character of the natives. This was a prime object. We find his views upon this part of the subject, compressed into a single sentence: "Let missionaries and schoolmasters, the plow and the spade, go together." Again, "It is

the Bible and the plow, that must regenerate Africa."

The specific steps suggested were—"That the British government should increase the efficiency of the preventive squadron on the coast,—should purchase Fernando Po, as a kind of head-quarters, and a mart of commerce,—should give protection to private enterprises,—and should enter into treaty with the native chiefs, for the relinquishment of the slave trade, for grants of land to be brought under cultivation, and for arrangements to facilitate a legitimate trade."

It was also proposed, "that an expedition be sent for the purpose of setting on foot the preliminary arrangements in Africa for the forming of agricultural, commercial, and missionary settlements; of entering into treaties with the native chiefs; of convincing the negroes of the uprightness of our intentions; and of ascertaining the state of the country along that vast tract of land which is traversed by the river Niger."

"A company was also to be formed by private individuals, for the introduction of agriculture and commerce into Africa; to establish model farms; to set up factories, well stored with British goods, and thus to sow the first seeds of commerce; and, in short, to adopt those means, which have been

elsewhere effectual in promoting trade, and the cultivation of the soil."

Mr. Buxton having thus stated his views, waited for their action upon other minds. He did not, however, wait long. The "book" had taken effect. A note from Lord Glenelg summoned him to town, from whence he writes:

"COLONIAL OFFICE, Sept. 5th.

...."Thank God, I say it with all my heart, thank God, 'the government,' says Lord Glenelg, 'are deeply interested in my book.' Melbourne writes him strongly about it. The cabinet meet on Friday on the subject. Glenelg says they accede to all I have said as to previous failures. They think I have greatly underrated the extent, [of the slave trade,] and still more, the mortality. In short, he was convinced to my heart's content. I have since seen Lushington; he is delighted with the book; accedes to it with all his heart."

To Mr. J. Gurney, he wrote:

"Dec. 7th, 1838.

"Within the last month, I have been to town, and have had many interviews with members of the cabinet, and I find that my book has made a deeper impression upon them than I had ventured to hope for. They all admit that the facts are placed beyond dispute. In short, the question now under consideration is, how shall they act?....

"I expect that this slave trade question will find me in employment for the rest of my days, and my hope is, that you and I may work together in it for many years to come. I am not so sanguine as to expect that so vast a work will be rapidly executed. Our favorite text is, 'Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord!'"

The subject of education, as well as the establishment of missions, opened a wide field for individual effort. Mr. Buxton wrote to the Rev. J. M. Trew, in the West Indies:

"I am more and more impressed with the importance of Normal Schools. It is not only that there will be a great demand for schoolmasters in the West Indies, but I have a strong confidence that Africa will, ere long, be opened to commerce, civilization, and Christianity; and then there will be need, indeed, of educated and religious black schoolmasters. The idea of compensation to Africa, through the means of the West Indies, is a great favorite with me; and I think that we shall see the day, when we shall be called to pour a flood of light and truth upon miserable Africa."

The first meeting of the 'Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade and the Civilization of Africa,' was held at the end of July. It proved highly satisfactory. Mr. Buxton wrote concerning it:

"It was a glorious meeting, quite an epitome of the State. Whig, Tory, and Radical; Dissenter, Low Church, tip-top High Church, or Oxfordism, all united. I was unwell, and made a wretched hand of my exposition, but good men and true came to my assistance, and supplied my deficiencies, and none better than the Bishop of London."

We determined to form two associations, perfectly distinct from each other, but having one common object in view,—the putting an end to the slave trade and slavery. One of these associations to be of an exclusively philanthropic character, and designed mainly to diffuse among the African tribes the light of Christianity, and the blessings of civilization and free labor; the other, to have a commercial character, and to unite with the above objects the pursuit of private enterprise and profit."

A few days afterward, it was formally announced that the government had come to the conclusion to send a frigate and two steamers, to explore the Niger, and if possible, to establish commercial relations with the tribes on its banks. Sir Edward Parry was appointed to prepare these vessels, and thus began the Niger expedition.

Mr. Buxton had the happiness, thus far, of finding that his wishes were fully met, but the joy of success was clouded by domestic sorrow.

His much-loved sister, Miss Buxton of North-

repps Cottage, died suddenly at Clifton, June 18th, 1839. Her loss he deeply lamented. "It is a vast void to us," he wrote; "she was a part of our daily existence; her affection toward me was passing the love of women. However, there is exceeding comfort in the reflection that her battle is fought, her pains endured, her labors completed, and that henceforth a crown of glory is provided for her from our bounteous Lord."

In September, he wrote to J. J. Gurney.

"While I was in London, we had a heavy work to perform. The expedition which we have been urging upon the government, for the purpose of making amicable treaties with the natives upon the Niger for the supression of the vile traffic, and for trying the effect of agricultural cultivation, is to sail in November. We had also to select five commissioners whom we purpose sending out; and it is not easy to find persons, possessing at once nautical skill, and missionary spirit, habits of command, agricultural knowledge, and a deep interest in the negro race. We have, however, found them.

"Again, we want black persons for all conceivable situations, from the highest to the lowest, in our African colony; and every one ought to be a real Christian.

"Again, we want a combination of all sects and all parties in England.

"The Bishop of London and S. Gurney, Wesleyans, Baptists, etc., sail along very quietly together. The persons present at our first private meeting show that politics do not intrude themselves. We have obtained plenty of high names, a great deal of money, and a working committee of the right sort. In short, our prospects are encouraging; but I should not say so, if I did not perceive, even more manifestly than in the slavery question, that we have *One*, invisible but irresistible, who takes care of us.

"Ever yours, my dear Joseph, in the three-fold cord of affection, tastes, and religion, if I may presume to include the last.

"T. FOWELL BUXTON."

For the purposes of the Niger expedition, it was found necessary to build ships, and thereby its departure was delayed for several months. This gave Mr. Buxton time to join his family, who had gone to Italy for the benefit of Mrs. Buxton's health. But first he must prepare a revised copy of "The Slave Trade and its Remedy," the publication of which had been delayed until the government had considered the plan of operations. This done, Mr. Buxton was ready to start on his journeyings.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1839, 1840.

Journey to Rome.—Visit to Pompeii.—Return to England.—Enthusiastic meeting in behalf of Africa.—Sailing of the "Niger Expedition"

Mr. Buxton joined his family at Rome, about the 12th of December. A few days after, he wrote from that city:

"The weather here is delightful; I am now sitting opposite a large window on the shady side of the street, wide open, and it is warmer than any day in England, last summer. I went to the Capitol yesterday morning. I am old, have never cultivated the fine arts, and all romance has been thumped out of me. One might as well expect to see a hackney coach-horse frisking about like a colt, as to see me in ecstacies and raptures with antiquities and classical recollections. However, I was greatly taken with the whole of Rome. There we saw before us, gathered into a small space, the city so famous for every thing;—at one time, the mistress of the world in arms; at another period, the

ruler of the nations by the fiat of the Vatican; and, again, the great nursery and school of the arts. You can not conceive how all the objects of interest are clustered together close about you. Right beneath you, the yellow Tiber; within gun-shot, as it were, the palace of the Cesars;—but I will not go on describing, or, in spite of myself, I shall grow quite romantic. But one thing did strike me more than all. In a little narrow dark cell, undoubtedly a Roman dungeon, there is a well-grounded tradition that St. Paul was confined immediately previous to his martyrdom. What a leaf is this in the history of man! In that palace lived the proud and cruel Cesar, dreaming of immortal reputation. He is almost forgotten; while the prisoner, who lay in the dungeon loaded with chains, despised and detested, is still remembered. We daily read his works, and ten thousand copies of the history of his life are published every day.

"To-day I visited the Coliseum, the Flavian Amphitheater. It wonderfully revives and brings to life their ancient spectacles;—it is immense; one can quite understand that a hundred thousand people could have a perfect view of the whole spectacle. The building, in its substantial parts, is perfect. What an enlightened people, to be capable of erecting such an edifice; and what a set of ruthless savages, to take delight in seeing poor captives

there slaughtering each other, or torn to pieces by wild beasts! I have been interested, beyond what I could have conceived it possible, by these two spectacles, and quite vexed that I bring with me so slender a stock of classical lore.

"But now for business. I was more gratified than you could guess, at hearing of your Spital-fields school; that is better than Laocoons and Amphitheaters. I will subscribe what you ask with pleasure, and ten times more, when you tell me it is wanted."

"I must tell you," he writes in another letter, "that the Jesuits and I are playing a game of chess. They hope, I fancy, from my willingness to listen, from my eagerness to learn, from my ready laudation of all that I find reason to approve, that they will make me a convert to Popery. I, on the other hand, wish to make myself master of the secrets of the system which has rendered the Jesuit mission so eminently successful; and I tell them, without reserve, that this is my object. Nevertheless, they are remarkably communicative.

"I was adverse to the Catholic religion when I left England, because I saw the error of their doctrines; but now, when I see in their practice the fruits of their system, and the depravity of the people that are so taught, I am still more Protestant than ever, if it be possible. To do them justice,

preaching Christ is part of their practice, but the divine powers of the Saviour are shared with the Virgin Mary.....

"Then their system of religion seems to be destitute of spirituality. Moreover, they scarce seem to teach any morality. I found my wife yesterday announcing to our Italian maiden the *novel* intelligence of the ten commandments. This girl had had an education, but apparently not a very profound one; for, according, as she said, to the practice of Rome, she had only remained at school one week, in order to learn how to say mass."

In the same letter, he speaks of an incident of a different sort:

"C—— (the Jesuit) told us of a speech of a priest in Maranham against slavery, of so powerful a nature, that after it the whole congregation liberated their slaves; and he said that priests in slave colonies had been the natural and enthusiastic protectors of the negroes."

While in Rome, Mr. Buxton visited the prisons of the city, and afterward, when recording an interview with the Pope, he thus alludes to this part of his walks in the ancient city:

"Having praised, wherever I could, I gently intimated to him (the Pope) that the Roman jails, in general, wanted a good deal of purification; and that I felt bound in honesty to tell him that two,

namely, the female prison of San Mickele, and the great jail of Civita Vecchia, were to the last degree bad; and called aloud on all who are influenced, whether by policy, humanity, or religion, for a thorough reformation. To all this he seemed very attentive and well disposed. We then had a long conversation about the slave trade and slavery."

While in Italy, Mr. Buxton was attacked by serious indisposition.

"One can not be too thankful," he says, "for this kind of warning, and for the plainnness with which, after preaching to us upon the prodigious difference between things temporal and things eternal, it says with all emphasis, 'Set your affections on thing above.'"

...."To-day I may pronounce myself decidedly better. All my most important enemies are subdued. What remains is very great debility, and my brace of doctors talk much about a constitution 'vehemently exhausted,' and seem to think me, at my best, good for little more than to read a newspaper by way of study, ride three miles by way of exercise, and, these duties performed, to spend the rest of my time in pure idleness."

From Naples he wrote:

"Wednesday, April 15,
8 o'clock in the evening.

"We started soon after eight this morning, for

Pompeii. It is most curious to be thus, in 1840, walking about a town which in many respects is as fresh and as perfect, as it was on the 23d August, A. D. 79. There were the streets with their ancient names, and the ruts worn by the carriages. At No. 1, Via Consularis, lived the Edile Pansæ, with his name over his door, and just within it was the skeleton of his porter. At No. 2, resided a poet, who, unlike his fraternity, appears to have been very wealthy. The house, though not large, was very elegant. Among his pictures was a beautiful and well preserved one, of Venus and Cupid fishing. On his table were fish, bread, and olives. In his kitchen were found the bones of two of his cooks, with many less important articles of kitchen furniture. In another apartment, stretched on a bed, the left arm holding up the head, was found another body. In another house there was a table spread with five knives, and there were skeletons of six men who seem to have been surprised while making themselves comfortable, for on the table before them were eggs and ham, fish, figs, etc. At No. 6, resided the baker, and there were his grinding stones and oven, in which there was still some bread. Not far off lived a musical gentleman, and many instruments of music were found in his house. In one room were nine bodies, three of them with flageolets in their hands. Sallust's house, in the

same street, was very elegantly furnished, and there we got a good conception of the way he used to dine. At one end of the building there was a good painting, of windows, sky, and country. It appears that Mrs. Diomed had taken refuge in the cellar; her husband was making his escape at the back of the house, and was there found standing upright. The statue of the Fawn, which is much celebrated, was found in the center of the garden of Marcus Tullius, round which were the remnants of forty-four great pillars.....

"In the adjacent Temple of Fortune, we were struck with the brilliant whiteness of the marble, and we noticed half a square of very thick glass in an aperture between two apartments. The Forum was splendid. It was very extensive, and gave us a good notion of the various purposes to which it was turned,—a Senate House in one place; a Temple of Jupiter, if I recollect aright, in another, the spots where they made speeches, and measured corn; an Exchange, etc., etc."

In May, Mr. Buxton returned to England. At a distance, he had been watching the preparations for the African expedition, and returned home full of hope of its speedy embarkation.

"In looking at a great subject," said he with reference to this, "every one has his own point of view. None takes such hold on me as the possibil-

bility, with God's help, of pouring a stream of true light upon Africa."

It had now become desirable that the whole subject should be effectually presented to the public. A meeting for this purpose was held on the 1st of June, at which Prince Albert presided. The meeting took place in Exeter Hall, which was crowded with an audience of the highest respectability. Prince Albert opened the meeting, and Mr. Buxton moved the first resolution, concluding his address with these words:

"I do not forget the military triumphs which this country has achieved, but there is a road to glory more noble, more illustrious, purer, and grander, than the battles of Waterloo or Trafalgar;—to arrest the destruction of mankind; to pour a blessing upon a continent in ruins; to send civilization and the mild truths of the gospel over a region, in comparison with which Great Britain herself is but a speck on the ocean; this is the road to true and enduring renown, and the desire and prayer of my heart is that her Majesty may tread it, and that, crowned with every other blessing, she may

> 'Shine, the leader of applauding nations,
> To scatter happiness and peace around her,
> To bid the prostrate captive rise and live.'"

Mr. Buxton was followed by several able speak-

ers, including some of the foremost men of the realm, and the meeting passed off with triumphant success.*

The summer was spent in active preparation for this enterprise. Three iron steamers, the "Albert," the "Wilberforce," and the "Soudan," were fitted out, the command being given to officers of tried character for intrepidity and wise forecast. These, with one other individual, were empowered to act as commissioners. In making treaties with the Africans, in every instance, the relinquishment of the slave trade was to be a prominent article. Several scientific gentlemen, botanists, geologists, etc., joined the expedition, under the patronage of the African Civilization Society. Also the Church Missionary Society sent out two clergymen, to select such locations on the banks of the Niger, as might be eligible for mission stations. One of these, Rev. S. Crowther, was himself an African, and had been rescued from a slave ship. Redeemed from slavery, he had become an educated Christian minister, having been ordained by the Bishop of London.

The immediate object which was had in view, was to explore the river Niger, examining the country along its banks, its adaptedness to the establish-

* Shorly after this it was that the Queen conferred on Mr. Buxton the rank of a baronet.

ment of trading posts, which were to receive from the British power that protection necessary for their development.

To displace the slave trade by the introduction of lawful commerce, and open the way for the introduction of Christianity, (important as these objects were regarded,) were not all. To put the natives in the way of cultivating the soil to the best advantage, and thus calling forth its varied and immense advantages, was with Mr. Buxton a favorite object.

"There is nothing," he wrote, "to which I attach more importance, than to the Agricultural Association." And again in another letter, "I am firm in the conviction that, next to religion, the Agricultural Association is the means on which we ought chiefly to rely."

Before a long time, matters were in a train for the purchase of a piece of ground, in a location at once central and healthy, for the establishment of a model farm.

With regard to this, Mr. Buxton wrote to Mr. S. Gurney:

"In one way or another, Africa has cost me a good round sum, and on this ground I thought myself justified in subscribing only one thousand pounds; but if you think that the smallness of this

will discourage other people, and do mischief, put me down for two, three, or four thousand."

Every possible precaution for the preservation of health appears to have been adopted on board the ships, in their building, ventilation, and other arrangements.

"The few people whom we shall send," wrote Mr. Buxton with particular reference to this part of the enterprise, "will go out under the escort and protection of the vessels. They will be carried through the mangroves and miasma of the delta by steam; they will have the medical help of at least eight surgeons or physicians; above all, they will have the sound and cool judgment of Captain Trotter, to restrain them from settling, unless the circumstances of the climate, soil, and disposition of the natives, should be very favorable."

Great pains were taken at this time, to interest the public in the African expedition, and with this view meetings were held in many of the principal towns, both of England and Scotland. A periodical was also started in London, under the name of the "Friend of Africa."

During a visit to London while the ships were lying in the river, Mr. Buxton minutely examined the numerous arrangements for health and comfort.

Of one of these visits, he wrote thus to Northrepps Cottage:

"Now I must tell you of Prince Albert's visit to the vessels. I went an hour before he was expected, and found every thing in perfect order, and the officers in full dress. Trotter looked remarkably well in his uniform, and I was glad to have the opportunity of seeing him actually engaged in the command of his people. At the appointed time, two carriages and four drove on to the quay, containing Prince Albert, Mr. Anson, Major Keppel, (our late member for Norfolk,) and half a dozen others. I was upon the quarter deck and Professor Airy with me, near the steps, which the Prince immediately came up. He greeted me with the most good-natured familiarity, and expressed his pleasure at seeing me 'on board my fleet.' He then closely examined every thing, and seemed to take great delight in the whole concern, and to understand mechanics. He was especially pleased with a buoy, fixed ready at the stern of the ship, to be let down at a moment's notice. It contained a light, which was (at least they said so) only water inflamed. This was for the purpose of saving any one who might happen to fall overboard at night.....

"After examining every thing in the 'Albert,' the boat came alongside, the Prince and six of his attendants got in, and I was also invited, and was

not very far from having reason to regret the honor. The wind was blowing hard, and the tide rolling along at its full force. Our sailors were not accustomed to the navigation of the Thames, so the tide ran away with us, and dashed us with considerable force against a yacht at anchor, the 'William and Mary.' We got entagled among the ropes attached to her anchor, and a cry was raised from the vessels, 'You will be dragged over; lie down!' Down went his Royal Highness, flat in the bottom of the boat, and without ceremony, we all bundled down too. As it was, the rope scraped along my back. When we got clear, the Prince sprang up, laughing heartily at the adventure."

A day of prayer for the success and safety of the expedition, having been determined upon, Mr. Buxton wrote concerning it:

"I greatly rejoice at this. Surely, considering the difficulties, the perils, the prejudices at home, the brutal ignorance in Africa; considering, again, how many brave and good men are hazarding their lives in the cause of humanity and righteousness; and above all, reflecting on the mighty consequences which may, and which, by the blessing of God, we hope will follow the combined effort we are now making,—I say, considering all these things, surely we have need to crave Divine help,

and the guidance of more and better than human wisdom."

On the 14th of April, 1841, Captain Trotter and Commander William Allen sailed for the Niger, with the "Albert" and "Wilberfore," the "Soudan" having put to sea a few days before. It was confidently hoped that the deadly climate would be braved, and that, with the blessing of Heaven, the expedition would prove a "herald of Christianity to Western Africa."

The feeling with which the whole was regarded by its first and chief mover, found apt expression in the following lines, which he loved at this time to repeat:

"Heaven speed the canvass gallantly unfurled,
To furnish and accommodate a world;
To give the pole the product of the sun,
And knit the unsocial climates into one.
Soft airs and gentle heavings of the wave,
Impel the fleet whose errand is to save;
To succor wasted regions, and replace
The smile of opulence in sorrow's face.
Let nothing adverse, nothing unforeseen,
Impede the bark that plows the deep serene;
Charged with a freight transcending in its worth
The gems of India, nature's rarest birth;
That flies like Gabriel, on his Lord's commands,
A herald of God's love to heathen lands."

CHAPTER XIX.

1841.

Progress of the expedition.—African scenery.—Treaties with African chiefs.—Products of the country.—Sickness and death on board the ships.—Return.

THE expedition having now reached the point of departure, there remained little to be done further. Mr. Buxton found it necessary to recruit his broken health, and for this purpose spent some time at Leamington, under the care of a physician. Afterward, he took a journey into Scotland.

Returning to Northrepps, he awaited with much anxiety for tidings from the African fleet. At length the expected news arrived, and proved to be of a most encouraging character. "With two exceptions," wrote Captain Trotter, "the whole company is in good health." "This," said Mr. Buxton, "I think highly satisfactory; and may God in mercy grant that we may continue to hear such favorable reports."

It was on the 13th of August, 1841, that the Niger expedition entered the Nun branch of the

Niger river, that being the season of the year pointed out by those acquainted with the climate, as safest and best. A few extracts concerning the history and progress of the voyage can hardly be without interest to the reader. The first relates to the day already mentioned.

"Every one was in the highest spirits, cheered by the novelty and beauty of the scenery, and by the exhilarating feeling of the air, which appeared perfectly salubrious; and it was difficult to imagine that it could be otherwise. After Sunday island, where the influence of the tides gives place to the constant downward current of the river, a marked change took place in the scenery. The banks began to be slightly elevated above the water, and instead of the mangrove, a variety of beautiful palms and other trees formed a forest so dense, that, for upward of one hundred miles, (except where spots were cleared for cultivation,) the eye could not penetrate more than a few yards beyond the water's edge. These cleared spots, containing yams, cocoas, cassadas, Indian corn, plantains, and occasionally sugar-cane, began to appear immediately after leaving Sunday island, and gradually became more frequent. Solitary huts were now succeeded by clusters, and clusters of huts by villages; the villages became larger and more populous, while the natives showed themselves less

timid, and often came off in their canoes to hold intercourse with us. For the first fifty miles, there was little appearance of trade, but afterward, large canoes were seen carrying palm oil, destined for Brass-town and Boung. Their timidity, however, especially in the lower parts of the river, was such, that our intercourse produced little worthy of remark, though the disposition of the natives was invariably friendly."

On the 26th of August they arrived at Aboh, and the steamer Albert received, on the following morning, a visit from Obi, an African chief, who came on board, accompanied by several members of his family and the head men of his tribe. With the aid of an intelligent interpreter from Sierra Leone, the objects of the expedition were explained, and much satisfaction was expressed with the acuteness and good understanding of this negro chief. He repeated several times the remark, that "*if he abolished the slave trade, his people must have some occupation by which to obtain subsistence, and that he therefore wished plenty of ships to be sent to trade with him.*"

"He came," proceeds the narrative, "without any pomp or state. With the exception of his dress, which was a British scarlet uniform coat and scarlet cloth trowsers, his appearance was more that of a keen trader, than of a sovereign chief of

an extensive country. His manner, though friendly and unceremonious, showed a consciousness of power, and his attendants treated him with marked respect. His appearance is certainly prepossessing; he is upward of six feet high, and stout in proportion; his forehead is large, and his countenance generally indicates acute perception.

"An instance of his firmness," says Dr. Mac William, "was shown one day on board the Albert. While he was engaged with the commissioners, I was amusing his brother and some of the head-men by performing some experiments with Smee's galvanic battery. Obi came up to us, just as the instrument was fitted for giving shocks; Anowama, the judge, a little man, touched the cylinders at the end of the conductors, and as the battery was at the moment acting rather powerfully, he dropped them with rapidity, and would not again come near. Most of the others looked upon this new and extraordinary agent with suspicion and awe; even Obi himself stooped somewhat doubtingly to take the shock; but he seemed determined to show no signs of irresolution or fear before his people. He took a firm grasp of the cylinders, and held them upward of a minute, although I could perceive the muscles of his shoulder and chest in strong electric excitation."

His equanimity, however, failed him when tested in another manner.

"Prayers being about to be read, he was requested to kneel down. This he did, but when the service was concluded, he was found almost overwhelmed with terror, the perspiration streaming down his face. He had thought, it seemed, that the white men were invoking curses on his head."

"The Ibos," says the Rev. Mr. Schon, "are, in their way, a religious people. The word 'Tshuk,' God, is continually heard. Their notions of the attributes of the Supreme Being are, in many respects, correct, and their manner of expressing them striking. 'God has made every thing; he made both white and black,' is continually upon their lips. On the death of a person who has in their estimation been good, they say, 'He will see God;' while of a wicked person, they say, 'He will go into fire.'

...."I opened the English Bible, and made Simon Jonas read a few words, and translate them into Ibo. Obi was uncommonly taken with this. That a white man could read and write was a matter of course; but that a black man—an Ibo man—a slave in times past—should know these wonderful things too, was more than he could have anticipated. He seized Simon's hand, squeezed it most heartily, and said, 'You must stop with me; you

must teach me and my people.' He would not be satisfied, till Simon had made known his desire to Captain Trotter. This desire proved the sincerity of his heart to perform the terms of the treaty into which he had entered. If he had had any intention of evading them, he would not have expressed a desire to have a person around him who understands his own language, can watch over all his proceedings, and who, as he well knows, will join the expedition again, and will be able to make his report to the commissioners of Obi's condnct. Jonas was accordingly left at Aboh for a few weeks, during which time no less than two thousand children were committed to him."

The chief of the Ibo country seemed not without means, on an emergency, to defend himself from invaders. The narrative proceeds:

"Obi has only two large canoes in use; but he is said to possess in all fifteen, each having a small cannon lashed in the bow; they have from twenty to fifty paddles, and the largest can carry twenty fighting men. Besides these, there are at Aboh about ten head-men, who have each from two to six war canoes."

It was ascertained that the people on the banks of the river, for a distance of five hundred miles, were under the direction of but three powerful and independent chiefs: first, Obi, king of Ibo; sec-

ondly, the Attah, or king of Eggarah; and thirdly, the king of the Fulatahs, at Rabba.

"The treaty having been formally concluded with Obi, for the abolition of the slave trade in his dominions, for the protection and encouragement of legitimate commerce, and for the permission of missionaries to settle among his people, and presents having been given to him as a mark of good will, the expedition proceeded toward Iddah, the capital of Eggarah.

"At Iddah," proceeds the narrative, "in the kingdom of Eggarah, the opposite shore is for some way low, flat, and swampy. The land behind, however, gradually rises to hills of considerable height, which seem to be richly wooded. From the anchorage, (within two hundred yards of the cliff,) a magnificent range of round and conical hills and high table land was seen in the distance, stretching from the north-east to the south-west, with a dense forest, extending from the table land downward, through which a series of streams were pursuing curiously tortuous courses, until they joined the main stream of the Niger, a short distance above the town of Iddah

"The soil partakes of the nature of the rocks, with a stratum of vegetable mold. The natives do not seem to pay much attention to cultivation. Yams, doura corn, shea, butter, ground-nuts, and

cocoa-nuts were, however, exposed in the markets in considerable quantities. The magnificent baobab, or monkey's bread, abounded in various parts of the town and neighborhood."

The Attah of Eggarah seemed far less intelligent than the chief of the Ibos. The people also seemed to be less capable of defending themselves, and lived in constant fear of the Fulatahs. These were a warlike and slave trading people, and a terror to their neighbors, who were glad of the protection of the strangers, from their depredations. A treaty was concluded with the chief of Eggarah, as before with Obi, including the abolition of the slave trade, and the permission of Christian missionaries to settle in his dominions, as well as for the encouragement of commerce.

Thus far all had been in the highest degree prosperous. The objects of the expedition had been attained. The expectations of the most sanguine had been fulfilled. Arrangements for the cession of land for the purpose of a model farm, had already been made, and natives had expressed a wish to be hired, that they might "learn the fashion of the white man." A strong propensity for traffic, with somewhat of dexterity in turning a bargain to their own account, seemed to be characteristic of the inland tribes.

These cheering prospects were destined to be

shadowed in gloom. On the 4th of September, a fever of a most malignant kind made its appearance on board the Albert. It spread quickly, on board, and very soon came the disheartening tidings from the other ships, that they also bore within them the same ghastly pestilence. In December, the word reached England, that nine men had died on board the Soudan, and that that steamer had been obliged to put out to sea. The disappointment and sorrow caused by this intelligence, can hardly be told. Mr. Buxton wrote concerning it to his son:

"I was glad to receive your letter, reminding me that in such a storm there is but one anchor, and that one all-sufficient. The blow, however, is tremendous. There is no comfort to be found under it, save in the assurance that it is the will and work of our merciful God.

The next tidings that reached England were even more disastrous. The Wilberforce was also obliged to put out to sea, while Captain Trotter and Captain Bird Allen pushed forward in the Albert, hoping to reach Rabba, the chief town of the Fulatahs, occupying a point five hundred miles from the mouth of the Niger.

Above the confluence of the Niger and Tchadda the country was found to be even more populous, and a great many villages were observed on the

banks of the river. In an enumeration of the products of the country, the following occurs: "Mr. Schon mentions as exposed for sale in the market, *several large bags of cotton in its raw state.* He then adds, with reference to the country, '*they might grow ten thousand times the quantity they are now growing.*'"

At Budda, the farthest point of the Attah's territory, the commissioners found that he had faithfully proclaimed the law against the slave trade. The place, they admitted, "had been a great slave market," but said that from the time they heard that the Attah abolished the slave trade, they relinquished it altogether. They were glad to hear that an English settlement had been commenced at the confluence, and said they would "go and see how white people built houses and made farms; and they would settle near them, to be protected from the Fulatahs."

They had now reached the town of Egga, three hundred and twenty miles from the sea. They had hoped still, notwithstanding all obstacles, to proceed as far as Rabba. But it was in vain. They were obliged to return. The 4th of October found them steaming down the river with the utmost speed. Nearly all on board, save the negroes, were ill with the fever. Captain Bird Allen, who was acquainted with the country and had been most desirous of

proceeding, was seized. At last, Captain Trotter was himself disabled by it, and at this critical period, the engineers became too ill to perform their duty. The ship was conducted by others. On reaching the model farm, they hoped, from the quantity of work that had been performed, that the place was free from fever, but had the disappointment of learning that the three white men were all ill, and must be received on board the ship. But none of the negroes who had been left there had suffered; these therefore remained, under the care of Mr. Moore, an American negro.

"When the Albert reach Aboh," says Dr. Mac William, "Obi and his people brought abundance of wood, besides goats, fowls, yams, and plantains. His prompt assistance was of the highest importance. He is decidedly a fine character, and assuredly did not discredit the high opinion we had already formed of him. He was melted into pity, when he saw the captains sick in the cabin."

While yet a hundred miles from the sea, they met a British steamer, under orders to render them every possible assistance. The captain took charge of the Albert, and brought her in safety to Fernando Po. It was hoped that a change of air would restore the sufferers; but many died, and among these was Captain Bird Allen. Of the three hundred and one persons who composed the com-

pany which began to ascend the Niger, forty-one had died of the fever.

Thus ended this most remakable expedition. Fondly had it been hoped that the peaceful fleet would win bloodless triumphs in that hitherto unfrequented region. But for the terrible visitation which we have recorded, it bade fair to become the herald of Christianity in the heart of Africa.

"It possessed," remarked a writer of that day, "all that modern science and human skill, all that undaunted courage and determined enterprise could contribute to success."

With reference to the facility with which intercourse was carried on with the natives, and the desire evinced for instruction, we have the testimony of the commanding officers of the ships.

"I have no doubt," says Captain W. Allen, "that if the climate had not interposed a barrier to frequent intercourse, those treaties would have been mainly instrumental in putting an effectual stop to the traffic in slaves, in the waters subject to those chiefs. The principles of humanity, so new to them, which we expounded, were received with great satisfaction.....Success, until our exertions were paralyzed by sickness, was complete; since we were able to make satisfactory treaties with two or three of the most powerful chiefs that are known. It is much to be deplored, that the single obstacle

of the climate should have thwarted all the great efforts that have been made for the benefit of Africa."

Connected with this expedition, so fatal in its results to a portion of those embarked in it, were persons in various positions, who were, either by birth or descent, Africans. These were one hundred and eight in number, more than one third of the whole. It was a noticeable fact, and full of meaning, that not one of these died of the fever.

The calamities which fell upon the brave men who formed a part of the expedition were felt by none more strongly than by Mr. Buxton, for with him had originated the undertaking. "But," he says, "could we survey the whole, there can be no doubt we should perceive that all was done in mercy and never-failing love."

Again he says:

"Our exertions have not been wholly useless. At all events, we know one thing that we did not know before. We know how the evil is to be remedied. It is to be done by native agency, by colored ministers of the gospel. AFRICA IS TO BE DELIVERED BY HER OWN SONS."

CHAPTER XX.

1843, 1844.

Declining health.—Letters from friends.—Increased illness.—Death.

Mr. Buxton was now approaching the decline of life. Of himself, he said in the words of another, "Though our day be not quite gone by, we think we see the stealing shades of evening, and in the solemn vista, the darkness of the night."

Yet with him the infirmities of advanced life evidently came before their time. The soul had wrought too strongly for its mortal frame. His absorption in the one great idea of African freedom and elevation, was best known to those who knew him most intimately. The high hopes with which he had regarded the expedition whose disasters we have detailed, added to the keenness of his disappointment.

"But," says his biographer, "his grief was not of that kind described by an old divine, which "runs out in voice." He rarely spoke of the expedition. To Captain Bird Allen's death, he could scarcely allude at all; but his grave demeanor, his

wan pale face, the abstraction of his manner, and the intense fervor of his supplications that God would 'pity poor Africa,'—these showed too well the poignancy of his feelings."

"His health, which had been undermined before, became gradually more feeble, and he could no longer bear any sustained mental exertion, especially if attended by any sense of responsibility. He was only fifty-five years of age, but already the evening was come of his day of ceaseless toil."

"And yet," proceeds the same pen, "the three years which elapsed between the failure of the Niger expedition and his death, were brightened by not a few gleams of domestic happiness; by many country pleasures; by the great satisfaction of receiving, in the main, good tidings of the working of emancipation in the West Indies; by some encouragements about Africa; but above all, these closing years were cheered by the exercise of faith, and the consolations of religion. During all that period, he was humble, patient, resigned, in an extraordinary degree; and especially was his heart overflowing with love to all around him, and with the living spirit of thanksgiving and prayer."

Grateful indeed, at this time, was the sympathy of friends, such as is contained in the following letter from Rev. Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta:

"CALCUTTA, April 9, 1852.

"Be not cast down, my dearest friend, yield not to disappointment and sorrow; all will work for good. The grand blow is struck; the monster must fall like Dagon before the ark; and your honest, devoted, anxious heart shall yet be comforted with blessed tidings; and, indeed, when we consider how little we worms of the earth can scan the designs of an Infinite Being, we need not wonder that grief and disquietude should sometimes follow our best concerted schemes. Supposing all our hopes to fail, Providence has other ways of bringing about the redemption of the enslaved population of Africa.

"Let us, then, go cheerfully on in the use of all such means as are open to us, and new and unexpected blessings will arise in due time. Gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, and hope to the end. Nothing we do for God, in the cause of humanity, is lost either to the cause or ourselves."

Though unable to toil as formerly, his interest in the efforts of others, in behalf of Africa, was unchanged. "No matter who is the instrument," he observed on one occasion, "so that there be successful laborers for God, for Christ, and for man, especially for heathen man!"

About this time he received a visit from Rev. S. Crowther, the negro clergyman who had accompa-

nied the Niger expedition. Mr. Crowther, who afterward became a missionary in Western Africa, spoke of the good which had been accomplished thereby, the way being opened to a communication between Sierra Leone and other parts of Africa hitherto unknown.

From other sources also, there now began to appear the dawnings of that light which has since so abundantly increased, with regard to the objects contemplated by the friends of the "Niger Expedition." Though that single enterprise had met with disaster, the knowledge acquired and the experience gained was not without its value. The way was opened, and notwithstanding the barrier of an unhealthy clime, there were found those who were ready to make another attempt to penetrate to the heart of Africa.

Mr. Crowther, during his visit, enlarged upon the benefits which were likely to result, in no long time, from that very enterprise which had been so calamitous.

Another friend wrote to Mr. Buxton on the same topic, accompanying his letter with the published narrative of the travels of an enterprising missionary* in Western Africa.

"The Niger expedition," said the writer, "has given a new impulse to the African mind, and in-

* Rev. Mr. Freeman.

duced the emigration from Sierra Leone, which has opened the way into Yariba and Dahomey, and placed even Central Africa within our reach."

Other and more recent explorers in parts of Africa hitherto unvisited, have given emphasis to these words, and the capabilities of Africa to enrich herself by an honest commerce are no longer doubted. The great idea that thus alone the slave trade can be displaced, has ceased to be regarded as visionary. The labors of missionaries have been extended, and the field invites with every year the labors of colored missionaries and teachers.

Toward the end of November, 1843, Mr. Buxton rapidly declined in health. His weakness was also accompanied with loss of memory and confusion of ideas, from which, however, he was afterward restored, the mind recovering its accustomed clearness.

The following summer was spent at Northrepps. "On the fine summer mornings," says his biographer, "he would often rise at four or five o'clock, and go into his dressing-room, where his voice could be heard for an hour or two at a time, in fervent prayer. When remonstrated with on the risk to his health, he would answer, 'I have not time enough for prayer. I must have longer time for prayer.' The objects of these prolonged supplications, at another time he referred to as being, 'that

I may receive faith, that I may receive the grace of God in my heart, that I may have a clear vision of Christ, that I may perfectly obey Him, that I may have the supporting arm of the Lord in every trial, and be admitted finally into His glorious kingdom."

It was remarked of him also at another time: "It would be impossible to describe the energy of his prayers, while imploring 'every good and perfect gift' for those whom he loved; nor in his daily petitions did he forget to entreat, 'that his heavenly Father would stretch forth his hand to deliver *poor Africa*.'"

With strength gradually yet surely failing, he passed the summer and autumn months. In December, he was seized with "a severe spasm in the chest." Though reduced to the lowest state of weakness at this time, he again revived.

"Toward the end of January, on experiencing some return of strength, he remarked, 'How pleasant is the feeling of rest on recovery from illness, while all our worldly occupations are laid aside!' and when some one observed to him that it seemed like a foretaste of the heavenly rest prepared for the children of God, he immediately broke forth into prayer for each member of his family, that they might be partakers of that blessed rest, through Christ our Lord. The varied expressions of ten-

terness for those most dear to him, which were blended with these prayers, were singularly impressive. He continued to take a lively interest in every thing connected with his poorer neighbors; indeed, his own needs seemed to open his heart more than ever to the wants of others, so that it was necessary to avoid mentioning cases of sorrow or suffering, from the pain it occasioned him."

The following note from Mrs. Fry, who was herself suffering from severe and long-protracted illness, gave him much pleasure.

"I must try to express a little of the love and sympathy I feel with and for thee.....How much have we been one in heart, and how much one in our objects! Although our callings may have been various, and thine more extensive than mine, we have partaken of the sweet unity of the Spirit of the Lord. May we, whilst here, whether called to do or to suffer, be each other's joy in the Lord! And when the end comes, through a Saviour's love and merits, may we behold the King in his beauty, and rejoice in his presence for ever!"

About a week before his death, he was visited by Mr. J. J. Gurney, who thus writes concerning his state at the time:

"It was almost, if not entirely, a painless illness. Nothing could be more quiet and comfortable than the sick room, with an easy access to all who were

nearly connected with him; no fear of disturbing him, who was sure to be either asleep, or, if awake, in an unruffled, cheerful state of mind, giving us, from time to time, characteristic tokens of himself, with his well-known arch manner, and with undeviating kindness and good temper to all around him, and no fretfulness or irritation. Never was a Christian believer more evidently rooted and grounded in his Saviour; never was the Christian's hope more evidently *an anchor* to the soul, sure and steadfast.

"On my remarking to him that I perceived he had a firm hold on Christ, he replied, in a clear emphatic manner, 'Yes, indeed, I have, *unto eternal life!* After a long-continued state of torpor, he revived surprisingly. Just before we left him, his mind was lively and bright, 'as a morning without clouds.' While memory lasts, I can never forget his eager look of affection, of love, joy, and peace, all combined, as he grasped my hand and kept hold of it for a long time, on bidding him farewell, and saying to him, 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared' for thee, yes, for *thee*, my dearest brother."

Calmly and tranquilly came the ending of these sacred scenes. On the 19th of February, he sank into a quiet sleep, from which he awoke no more.

Of the honors paid to the dead, we record but one. A few weeks after the death of Sir Fowell Buxton, some of his admiring friends wished to place in Westminster Abbey a worthy testimonial to his memory. Toward the funds necessary for this, the negroes in the West Indies, Sierra Leone, and Cape Coast, and the natives of Caffraria, contributed the sum of £450, chiefly in pence and halfpence. At Sierra Leone, a second contribution raised a sum sufficient to provide another testimonial of their own, to be placed in St. George's church in that colony.

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